

State Dept. review completed

NEW YORK TIMES
16 NOVEMBER 1975

25X1B

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Congress Seeks Right to Intelligence Data

By NICHOLAS M. HORROCK
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15—The Senate Select Committee on Intelligence is preparing legislation that would for the first time, formally entitle Congress to share national security intelligence with the executive branch, committee sources said today.

Interviews with key Ford Administration and intelligence

officials disclosed that the Administration would not oppose this facet of legislative oversight. Moreover, Congressional and Administration sources said they believed such a system would avoid much of the "suspicion," as one source put it, that had resulted in disputes over secret executive branch policy in Chile and Southeast Asia.

"When this becomes law,

Congress would receive the very information Mr. Pike is wrestling to get in a timely fashion as the events unfolded," said one intelligence source. He was referring to the confrontation that has developed between Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger and the House Select Committee on Intelligence, headed by Representative Otis G. Pike, Democrat of Suffolk.

How System Would Work

Under the proposal being prepared by a drafting group of the Senate committee, a Congressional oversight committee would be empowered to order the intelligence agencies to report on their knowledge of any subject of national security.

"For instance, if a crisis were developing in a certain foreign country," one committee source said, "the oversight committee could require the intelligence agencies to give them an up-to-date estimate of what is going on."

Since this would be the same information from which the President forms foreign policy moves, Congress would be in a far better position to understand and evaluate the President's actions.

The legislative language for the delivery of intelligence data is being patterned upon provisions of the Atomic Energy Act, which requires the Energy Research and Development Administration and the intelligence agencies to report to Congress secret data in the field of nuclear energy.

'Airtight Language'

"The language of that section is airtight," one Senate aide said, "and we are preparing language that will do the same thing."

Senate sources said that Ford Administration officials were cooperating in working out the details of the intelligence data legislation. What Senate sources acknowledge will be a lot tougher is whether Congress can legislate a veto over covert intelligence operations. Under present law the executive branch is required to report such covert operations to Congress only after the fact.

Senior Administration officials have said that President Ford does not intend to let Congress intrude upon the Presidential prerogative to conduct foreign affairs and that direction of covert operations is clearly a function of the executive branch.

Congress already receives highly secret intelligence information on an informal basis. Certain members of the Senate and House Armed Services Committees receive a daily intelligence estimate from the Central Intelligence Agency. The appropriation committees have also been given highly secret data over the years.

ABM Controversy Recalled

In a speech before the Senate last week, Senator Frank Church, the Idaho Democrat who heads the Select Committee on Intelligence, cited what he saw as the importance of Congress's receiving intelligence data during the controversy of several years ago over the antiballistic-missile defense system.

"The Congressional coalition against the ABM had to have reliable information to counteract the reams of data turned out by the military," he said. This information was only available at one source: the Central Intelligence Agency. Through a series of C.I.A. briefings, members of Congress were given the whole range of information on the strengths and weaknesses of the ABM system."

Mr. Church contended that C.I.A. briefings had enabled Congress to strike a balance between this information and information it was receiving from the military and to defeat the antiballistic-missile defense on the ground that it did not provide the protection to the United States that military leaders asserted it would.

There is a subtle, but vital, difference between the informal briefing of the past and the legislative proposal that the select committee is expected to introduce.

When Congress can compel information, the framers believe, it will bar the political administration in office from "filtering the facts we get," as one source put it.

They believe that this will prevent political administrations from being able to shape the facts brought to Congress on a foreign policy issue.

Other activities include studies of pending public issues and surveys of public opinion on matters of interest to business.

Central Employment Agency

25X1B

Students respond
to the CIA rush

BY MATTHEW
ROTHSCHILD

On Washington's Massachusetts Avenue, sandwiched between the flag-waving embassies of Chile and Canada, stands the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies. Its sandy, concrete walls and stiff, rectangular windows mirror the bland facade of the Brookings Institution across the street.

I visited the School of Advanced International Studies—which everyone there calls SAIS (rhymes with nice)—one cold and rainy morning last December. A recruiter from the Central Intelligence Agency was scheduled to interview a dozen SAIS students that day, and I, too, was eager to talk with them. I wanted to find out what these students were like, why they would want to work for the CIA, and how they could justify their interest in such a career.

This was no idle concern, for the CIA is enjoying a remarkable renaissance on American college campuses. Gone is the militant protest, gone is the stigma. "The view of the Agency is very good. We're doing very well," says a CIA officer knowledgeable about the recruitment effort. The officer, who asked that his name not be used, says the Agency now recruits openly on 300 campuses. Pay for a graduating senior typically starts between \$17,000 and \$27,000.

"Students seem to be much more responsive" than they were even five years ago, and "more are applying, certainly," the CIA man says. He attributes this positive reception, in part, to an increased level of patriotism. "I've gotten an awful lot of

that," he says, adding that anti-CIA demonstrations on campus have "dramatically declined."

The resurgence of the CIA on campus is the most obvious indication of the attitudes characterizing today's students. Conservatism once again prevails in the society at large, and the resilience of America's imperial culture finds expression in the application forms addressed to William Casey as much as in the jingoist huzzahs over the invasion of Grenada.

Outside the SAIS recruiting office, I camped on a three-cushioned couch that served as the on-deck circle for the applicants. My first interviewee, Michael Peck, a student in "conflict management," was reluctant to tell me what had drawn him to the CIA, but he did offer some general insights. "I know everyone here who is interviewing," he said. "It's not the James Bond. John Wayne approach, but a very pragmatic one, with a little idealism."

Peck was enthusiastic about the resources the Agency offers to the specialist in foreign affairs. "The possibility to broaden your area of expertise is what brings people to this job," he said. "The CIA guarantees you a total preoccupation with your interest, and it provides you with first-hand experience." To this professional inducement, Peck added a dash of patriotism. "Take Nathan Hale," he said. "The guy had a certain commitment to make, and he made it."

Drawing a sharp distinction between the analysis side of the CIA, where research is conducted, and the operations side, where the traditional cloak-and-dagger spy work is performed, Peck said he was interested only in analysis. He had some problems with covert action. "If there's any other way but violence, I'm for it," he said. "Defense of the homeland has a justification in that means covert action in a foreign

country, though, I haven't made up my mind."

Our conversation was cut short by the CIA recruiter, a middle-aged woman with close-cropped brown hair, wearing a maroon sweater, matching shin-length skirt, and unpolished blue low-heel shoes two decades out of fashion. She opened the door to the interviewing office, dismissed one student, and invited Peck in with the fetching phrase, "Next victim."

I followed the previous victim down a couple of flights of stairs to a basement locker room. As he took off his gray sport jacket and tie, he explained why he had signed up to interview with the CIA: "It's one of the few careers directly related to the education here." He was an international relations and economics major.

When I asked him about CIA abuses, this applicant became defensive. "Certainly things aren't happening the way they were in '73 in Chile or in '54 in Guatemala," he said. And even if the Agency did something he couldn't endorse, that would not have any bearing on his work. "You can compartmentalize," he explained. "If I'm an analyst with them, they may knock off a Chilean leader, but I didn't do it. I'm an analyst." He later asked me not to use his name.

Elizabeth Michels, next in line for an interview at SAIS, also viewed working for the CIA as a way of pursuing her academic interest, international economics. "The work they do is highly respected," she said. "It is thorough and highly professional. That's not a bad sort of agency to be associated with."

Her admiration for the scholarly reputation of the CIA stemmed in part from her contact with professors at Georgetown University who had worked for the Agency. "They're the most brilliant people in the field," she said, and impressed

LAWRENCE JOURNAL-WORLD (KS)

11 September 1982

Editorials

CIA back in demand

Predictably, the figures are secret, and so are the contents of the recruiting interviews. But the Central Intelligence Agency will say this much: More people than ever are trying to join up. "Business is booming," reports Charles E. Jackson, chief of recruitment at the agency. "We're seeing more resumes than we ever have."

With a tight job market and new attitudes about the agency, more and more young people reportedly are looking into a career which many of their older brothers and sisters would never have considered. With the Vietnam War and the spate of student demonstrations across the country no longer the order of the day, the CIA's recruitment activities are increasingly being conducted in the open.

The agency advertises in newspapers. Like recruiters from such long-time campus frequenters as Procter & Gamble, its representatives go from college to college, interviewing undergraduates and talking about such things as salary, working conditions and health insurance benefits. About two years ago the agency published a recruiting booklet.

But even with its new openness, a cloak of mystery still surrounds the CIA, and this is reflected in "Intelligence: The Acme of Skill," the booklet published by the agency and used by its recruiters. The publication is almost, to use a word favored by the intelligence agency itself, a sanitized version of intelligence operations.

Although the CIA has received heavy attention for its covert activities, the subject itself is barely covered in the brochure. Intelligence, according to the booklet, "has less to do with cloaks and daggers than with the painstaking, generally tedious collection of facts, analysis of facts, exercise of judgment and quick, clear evaluation."

Interviews are conducted each day in 11 recruitment offices across the country and in the walk-in office at the agency's headquarters near Washington in Rosslyn, Va. But despite its active recruitment program, the CIA remains highly selective in deciding who it lets into its ranks.

For its career trainees, traditionally the entry-level professional employees, the agency looks for people in their 20s to the age of 32 with graduate degrees in international affairs. If applicants have lived overseas or have done some international traveling, so much the better. Language abilities are another plus. Applicants with computer science, electronics, economic or engineering backgrounds are also in demand. The starting salary is as high as \$22,500.

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NEW YORK TIMES
18 FEBRUARY 1982

Cloak-and-Dagger Business Booming

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Feb. 17 — The figures are secret. So are the contents of the recruiting interviews. But the Central Intelligence Agency can say this much: More people than ever are trying to join up.

"Business is booming," reports Charles E. Jackson, chief of recruitment at the agency. "We're seeing more résumés than we ever have."

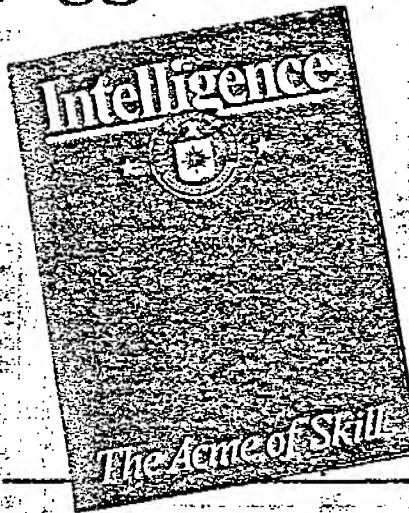
With a tight job market and new attitudes about the agency, more and more young people are looking into a career that many of their older brothers and sisters would never have considered. And now, with the Vietnam War and the spate of student demonstrations across the country ended, the C.I.A.'s recruitment activities are increasingly being conducted in the open.

The agency advertises in newspapers. Like recruiters from such long-time campus frequenters as Proctor & Gamble, its representatives buzz from college to college, interviewing eager undergraduates and talking about such things as salary, working conditions and health insurance benefits. Two years ago the agency published a recruiting booklet.

Still a Cloak of Mystery

But even with its new openness, a cloak of mystery still surrounds the C.I.A., and this is reflected in "Intelligence: The Acme of Skill," the booklet published by the agency and used by its recruiters. The publication is almost, to use a word favored by the intelligence agency itself, a sanitized version of intelligence operations.

Beside the introduction, for example, are pictures of Queen Elizabeth I



of England and Sir Francis Walsingham who, according to the photo caption, "created an extensive intelligence organization which sent agents to foreign lands." Later, there is a full-page picture of a group of people carrying a giant-size picture of Josef Stalin in a street march and the caption: "In its early years, the Central Intelligence Agency's primary concern was with Soviet military activities and political intentions."

Although the agency has received much attention for its covert activities, the subject itself is barely covered in the brochure. Intelligence, according to the booklet, "has less to do with cloaks and daggers than with the painstaking, generally tedious collection of facts, analysis of facts, exercise of judgment and quick, clear evaluation."

Cloaks and daggers excepted, the brochure is lavishly illustrated. A picture of its headquarters is inset in a

wide shot of the attack on Pearl Harbor. There is a picture of a mushroom cloud. And there are pictures of unnamed C.I.A. employees accompanied by quotes like this, from a senior analyst with the agency: "I believe that the analyst is at the center of the intelligence process and, I would like to believe, the most important part of the intelligence process."

Interviews Conducted Daily

Interviews are conducted each day in the 11 recruitment offices across the country and in the walk-in office at the agency's headquarters near Washington in Rosslyn, Va. But despite its active recruitment program, the C.I.A. remains very selective in deciding who will join its ranks.

For its career trainees, traditionally, the entry-level professional employees, the agency looks for people in their 20's to the age of 32 with graduate degrees in international affairs. If applicants have lived overseas or have had done some international traveling, so much the better. Language abilities are another plus. Applicants with computer science, electronic, economic or engineering backgrounds are also in demand. The starting salary: as high as \$22,500.

On campuses, the agency's recruiters work in the manner traditional of the nation's largest businesses, checking in with the college placement director and making a presentation. There is almost always a fast-paced slide show. From time to time an agent or two is introduced.

These days, nearly two decades from the era of large student protests, seldom is heard a discouraging word from demonstrators. "We think those days are behind us," said Mr. Jackson. "We're doing very well."

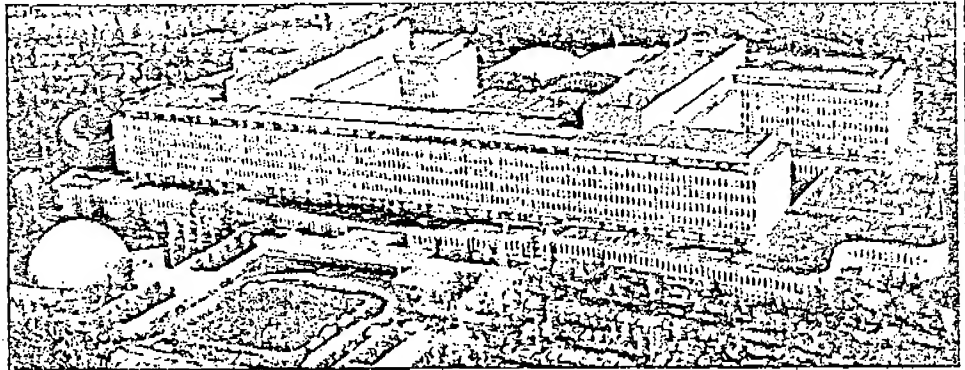
THE PROGRESSIVE
October 1981

YE SHALL NOT KNOW ANYTHING

LANGLEY, VIRGINIA

"We believe that as much information as possible about the Central Intelligence Agency and the Intelligence Community should be shared with the public," declares the thirty-page document bound in deep red covers. The booklet, *The Acme of Skill*, includes an "intelligence glossary" that points out the difference between "clandestine" and "covert action," a CIA chronology, a question-and-answer section, and an array of trivia: the CIA headquarters and grounds cover 219 acres; "works of art grace the building's entire first floor" (the majority being "abstract with an emphasis on color studies"); there are "more Ph.D.'s employed by the CIA than by any other Government agency."

The publication's title comes from a quote attributed to "Sun Tzu, Military Strategist, China, 400 B.C." which states, "To find security without fighting is the acme of skill." To further confirm that "intelligence is nothing new," other citations



WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

CIA headquarters at Langley: lowering the blinds

include the old testament, Queen Elizabeth I, and the Thirteenth Century Mongol leader Subotai, who "directed his forces to spectacular military successes in their invasion of Europe" because he had good spies.

What is perhaps more significant about *The Acme of Skill* is that it exists at all. Its publisher is the CIA itself—the CIA of sunnier times when some small efforts to illuminate its dark dens were made. Today, publications of this nature have short shelf lives; already CIA Director William Casey has eliminated the Agency's office of public affairs, which produced the booklet. In so doing, he declared, "The time has come for

the CIA to return to its more traditional, low-public profile." Who knows what other things the CIA will return to, if indeed it ever left them?

The Acme of Skill notes that a biblical verse is engraved in Georgia marble in the central lobby of CIA headquarters: "And ye shall know the truth and the truth shall make you free.—John VIII-XXXII." At this writing, it is unknown whether CIA Director Casey has moved in with sandblasters.

—PHIL PRIMACK

(Phil Primack is a free-lance writer in Epping, New Hampshire.)

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ON PAGE 41

SALES & MARKETING MANAGEMENT
17 August 1981

MARKETERS, ET CETERA

A little p.r. never hurt anybody—not even the CIA. One call to the agency's public affairs office (yes, it has one) will get you a glossy booklet entitled, *Intelligence—The Acme of Skill*. The title comes from a quote by one Sun Tzu, a Chinese military strategist who lived around 400 B.C. and said, "To find security without fighting is the acme of skill."

The booklet contains a history of the agency, a glossary of intelligence terms (example: "Espionage—Intelligence activity directed toward the acquisition of information through clandestine means."), a breakdown of the country's intelligence-gathering apparatus, and much more. Example: a "People Often Ask" section that answers such questions as, "Whospies for the Central Intelligence Agency?" and, "What is covert action?"

Included in the booklet is a printout of all CIA publications and maps available to the public and how to get them. It lists such things as a wall chart of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, and articles on "The Bleak Prospects for Meeting Kampuchean Food Needs," and "Hybrid Rice Development and Seed Production in China."



CIA booklet takes a page or two from history.

EXCERPTED:

Soviet ASTP Effort Wins CIA Approval

Washington—Outlook for successful completion of the Apollo-Soyuz Test Project is good, the Central Intelligence Agency said last week, because preparations "have been more extensive and thorough than for any previous Soviet mission."

While calling this assessment "incongruous when compared with recent Soviet flight history," the CIA said Soviet testing and checkout of the spacecraft and crew training set new marks. In addition, the agency said that recent Soviet failures in launch, docking and reentry would have no effect on the U. S. crew if they were to reoccur during ASTP.

The CIA study of the Soviet space program was done at the request of Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.), chairman of the Appropriations subcommittee that oversees the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. He released a summary of the study on the eve of the ASTP launches.

The main advantage the Soviets gained from ASTP has been observation of U. S. management and operations techniques, the CIA said. There was some flow of technology to the USSR through ASTP, but future joint missions "would pose more of a potential for technology drain," the summary said.

The threat of a minor fire in the Soyuz spacecraft poses "a moderate risk" to the joint mission, the CIA said, and the risk of a major fire is much less likely.

The U. S. has a "significant technological lead" over the Soviet Union in a number of areas, according to the CIA, including:

- Communications.
- Flight and ground crew training and ground crew proficiency.
- Launch procedures.
- Ability to make inflight mission changes.
- Space medicine.

The two countries are about equal, the CIA said, in tracking capability, backup systems, life-monitoring systems and environmental safety.

Israel reported set to pick up U.S. role with Latins

By Frank Greve
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Israel, which has helped arm and train the United States' allies in Central America for a decade, would be able to expand its military role in the region if U.S. aid were cut back, according to international arms authorities.

Israeli government spokesmen denied that Israel would act as a surrogate for the United States in its support for anti-leftist governments and guerrillas in Central America and said that no such formal arrangement has been reached. U.S. officials also said no such deal exists.

But knowledgeable sources inside and outside the U.S. government who asked not to be identified said they believed that Israel would help U.S. allies in Central America if Congress reduced its military assistance to those nations.

The action might not be in concert with the United States, but it would be good business — and business of the sort Israel has sought in the past.

The Israeli government considers its arms sales secret, but evidence of the Israeli role in Central America is easy to come by. For example:

- When asked last month where his men had acquired their Soviet-designed AK-47 automatic rifles, Nicaraguan rebel leader Enrique Bermudez answered, "From the weapons that the Israeli government took from the PLO in Lebanon."

- When reporters asked Guatemalan Gen. Efraim Rios Montt to explain the success of the coup that brought him to power in March 1982, he answered that it was "because many of our soldiers were trained by Israelis." Rios Montt since has been deposed.

- When nominally neutral Costa Rica decided in 1982 to beef up its internal security, Haaretz, the respected Israeli mainstream newspaper, disclosed that "Israel will sell arms and give counterinsurgency training to the Costa Rican police."

- The same newspaper reported in November 1981 that Israeli advisers were training government counter-insurgents in El Salvador, a claim repeated by opposition members of the Israeli parliament.

All four incidents involved Israel with Central American clients whose objectives the United States supported. In each instance, the United States could not, for one reason or another, provide direct military aid at the time.

All four reports elicited no comment or carefully crafted official Israeli denials. And yet they are but four of many examples of Israel's large and controversial role as a major Central American arms trader.

As such, Israel is ideally positioned to help resupply the CIA-backed contras in Nicaragua or the governments of El Salvador or Guatemala if Congress cuts off funding for any or all Central American operations.

If Israel decided independently to aid the same missions, the U.S. administration could suffer some congressional funding cuts without serious harm to U.S. allies in the region. Indirect reimbursement of Israel by the United States would not be difficult, said several international arms experts who spoke on the condition that they not be identified.

President Reagan was asked during his news conference last week to explain what seemed to be invisible sources of support for the contras. They could not be aided secretly by the United States "without the knowledge of Congress," Reagan replied, but he did not address the possibility that another country might be aiding the rebels.

The Washington Post, quoting unidentified sources, reported last week that the CIA had approached both Israel and Saudi Arabia seeking their covert aid to the contras.

Israeli Embassy spokesman Victor Harel said: "We are not American surrogates in Central America or anywhere else. We are denying any help to the contras."

He said he could not rule out the possibility that a customer for Israeli

arms might resell them. "Weapons go to a destination and then who knows what happens?" Harel said. "All I can say is that, to the possibility of third deals done with our approval, I completely deny it."

Harel also said, "There are no Israeli military advisers, trainers or military experts in the whole area of Central America." He said he did not know whether retired Israeli military personnel were working in the region. He described some Israelis living in Central America as salesmen for Israeli arms dealers who have taught customers to use weapons.

Regardless of whether the United States has been urging Israel to assume a military role in Central America, Israeli arms merchants today account for about 40 percent of the nation's exports, according to studies of international arms sales.

Israel ranked seventh in arms exports in 1982, with \$1.25 billion in export sales, according to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. A CIA report, using a \$1.6 billion figure for 1982 sales, rated Israel fifth, after the United States, the Soviet Union, France and Britain.

Since its decision in 1967 to expand its domestic defense industry, Israel has found its best markets, according to independent accountings of the international arms trade, in such countries as South Africa, Argentina and Chile.

"The United States sells to its friends; Israel sells to hard currency," concluded one Senate arms specialist who asked not to be identified. He characterized the Israeli mar-

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BOB LEVEY'S WASHINGTON

Shhhh! An Extra Day at the CIA

I realize you're probably reading this at a brightly-lit breakfast table, dear friends—in full view of your family, your cat and your Maker. But imagine yourself under a lamppost, on a foggy night, in a trench coat. Because that's the setting in which such news ought to be delivered.

The awful truth: someone at the CIA thinks there's a June 31.

This amazing revelation arrived in about as roundabout a fashion as you could wish. But it all began with a woman from Sterling.

Back in August, she wrote to say she had "waited in vain for some mention of the government calendar for 1984." I couldn't imagine why I'd ever write about something so bereft of excitement. But tucked under the woman's note was the evidence. According to this calendar, producer unknown, June had grown an extra day.

If anything ever looked like a job for Beth Kaiman, Ace Researcher, this sure did. "See if you can find out whodunnit, Ace, and why," I said.

But the more Beth got into it, the more it looked as if she'd have to leave it to her grandchildren to finish.

Officials at the Government Printing Office said they'd have to see the calendar before commenting. Beth sent them a photocopy. Not ours, said they.

Off went another photocopy, this one to Bob Fiser in the public affairs office of the General Services Administration. Bob said the calendar wasn't a GSA product, but may have been produced and circulated independently at another government agency. Which? Bob didn't know.

Next stop: Our very own dapper federal government columnist, Mike Causey. Mike said it couldn't be an official Uncle Sam calendar because those have "U.S. Government" printed at the bottom. He agreed that it might have been produced independently by—or at—some agency.

Dead-ended, Beth sat down to have a long think.

One agency . . . Produced independently . . . No one seems to know anything . . . Hmmmmm . . .

Could it be?

It was.

CIA spokesperson Kathy Pherson contacted the agency's printing office. Operatives there confirmed that they had printed the "June 31 calendar." But it was never distributed, the printing folk said, because the error was discovered in time.

Whew! Now you can sleep soundly again, right?

This'll wake you up.

A mole is loose at the CIA.

A calendar mole.

Pherson said all copies of the "June 31 calendar" were supposed to have been destroyed.

She said that she and the printing services office "are surprised that a copy would have been obtained."

Maybe I've been reading too many thrillers, but I can see it now:

Comics page of Pravda.

Column called Bob Ivanovich's Moscow.

"The decadent capitalists have proven once again that they are an inferior society," Bob would write.

"They cannot even read a calendar! An

American-based correspondent has obtained a document that proves . . ."

WASHINGTON POST
25 MARCH 1977ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE D-19Jack Anderson and Les Whitten

OPEC's U.S. Holdings: \$34 Billion

The Central Intelligence Agency has conducted a secret survey of the flood of petrodollars into the United States. Over the past three years, according to the CIA survey, the oil-producing countries have invested an astounding \$34 billion in U.S. holdings.

Some CIA analysts fear this prodigious financial stake could influence U.S. action in any future Middle East crisis. The nation's most influential financial leaders, the analysts suggest, might feel compelled to support the Arab cause.

For example, members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries have entrusted their portfolios to the nation's largest banks, particularly Chase Manhattan, Morgan Guaranty, Bank of America and New York's First National City Bank.

Thus the Arab oil potentates have become big customers of these powerful banks. Presumably, this will heighten their sympathy for the Arab viewpoint. For once the Arabs get a hold on a banker's pocketbook, his heart and mind will usually follow.

Yet the petrodollars have been channeled discreetly into the U.S. economy. With the single exception of the shah of Iran, the oil potentates have been careful to avoid purchasing controlling interests in American firms.

The rise and fall of the stock market, plus deposit withdrawals and other transactions, have reduced the value of the \$34 billion OPEC investment in the United States by \$2 billion, according to the CIA. The CIA estimate is that the oil-producing nations are pumping

about 20 per cent of their available funds into this country.

At first, most of the money, according to confidential Treasury Department documents, was put into "commercial banks as short-term deposits," thus creating "widespread fear that a sudden withdrawal or shifting of these deposits would lead to a collapse of certain banking institutions."

But around mid-1975, the OPEC countries began to concentrate more on long-term holdings. Their financial power, meanwhile, has been slowly increasing in the executive suites of America.

Backroom Affair—We have often cited the cozy relationship between the federal energy regulators and the oil tycoons they regulate. Now, in a startling, confidential memo, Congress has accused the Federal Energy Administration of condoning the criminal conduct of the oil crowd.

The shocking memo, prepared by investigators for the House Energy and Power Subcommittee, declares: "Our investigation shows there is considerable evidence of potential criminal violations of the statutes and regulations administered by FEA. However, the agency failed to develop the means to conduct the necessary investigations for effective presentation of this evidence to the Justice Department for prosecution."

There is more to the story. Our own investigation has found that the FEA simply is unable to audit the major oil refiners. Without this capability to conduct criminal investigations or audits, the FEA may be letting the indus-

try rip off the public to the tune of hundreds of millions of dollars.

FEA officials across the country have pleaded for criminal investigators to crack down on oil criminals. Auditors have begged for instructions and more personnel. But the requests have received resounding rejections in Washington.

The FEA is charged with protecting the public from energy frauds. Here are just a few examples:

- The notorious "daisy chain" chases involved paper sales of petroleum products, with no real movement of the petroleum. Phony middlemen merely sold the paperwork back and forth, jacking up the price with each transaction. Yet these cases gathered dust in the FEA for months.

- The energy agency killed several investigations because its regional officials refused to cooperate with one another. When regional heads demanded sovereignty over certain cases, the probes came to an abrupt halt.

- The general counsel's office also delayed important cases, involving millions of dollars in possible overcharges to the consumers. The delays were unnecessary.

By the time the energy agency corrects the deplorable situation, if ever, it may be too late. The statute of limitations on the crimes could run out. Many of the violations occurred as long ago as the 1973 Arab oil embargo.

Footnote: New FEA Administrator John O'Leary told us he recognized his agency's failings and planned to correct them.

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ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 32ARMED FORCES JOURNAL INTERNATIONAL
March 1983

The Failure to Defend Defense

Weinberger and Casey Fail to Strike the Proper Military Balance

by Anthony H. Cordesman and Benjamin F. Schemmer

Even in the best economic climate, defense must compete with other uses of public funds. In a major recession, every defense dollar must be shown to be necessary. This is partly a matter of efficiency and effectiveness: the American people must believe that their tax dollars are being spent wisely. It is also, however, a matter of convincing the American people that a strong defense is necessary to meet the Soviet threat. This is not simply a matter of showing that Soviet forces are increasing in size and capability, it is a matter of showing that planned US force improvements are a well-judged response to the trends in the Soviet threat.

For the last decade, the Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence have published comparisons of US and Soviet forces as part of the annual budget cycle to support the President's proposed defense budget. The Defense Secretary has explained the strategic balance, the trend in theater nuclear forces, the trend in conventional forces, and the trends in the NATO and Warsaw Pact Alliances, while the Director of Central Intelligence has published detailed dollar cost estimates of US and Soviet defense spending.

These data have shaped the Reagan Administration's buildup of US forces. The comparisons of US and Soviet forces have furnished the essential rationale for increased defense spending, and a critical perspective on the size of the US defense budget and the adequacy of US forces. Although many readers may not realize it, most of the statistical and graphic data that shaped the SALT II debate, and many of the qualifying words necessary to give such numbers meaning, came from the *Annual Report* of the Secretary of Defense and the *Military Posture* statement of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Virtually all of the data on the inadequacy of US forces and defense expenditures that President Reagan campaigned on came from these sources. They underpin every reputable work on the military balance and on US and Soviet defense expenditures.

Omitting the Facts from the Secretary's FY84 Annual Report

The merits of providing as much data on the balance as possible should be obvious to a conservative Administration which won election through its use of such data, which advocates a strong defense, which now faces a massive defense budget battle in the Congress, which faces an even greater battle over arms control, and which must try to persuade its allies to maintain their defense spending in the face of a world recession. The Reagan Administration seemed to understand this when it wrote its first series of defense posture statements.

It published more statistical material on the balance in FY83 than any previous Administration.

Somewhere along the line, however, things have gone astray. As Table One shows, Secretary Weinberger has removed virtually all of the useful data on the balance from the Defense Department's two main defense policy and budget statements. Even Table One understates just how much material has been censored in FY84, or is presented in an inadequate or potentially misleading form. With almost Orwellian timing, the Secretary of Defense has made "1984" the year in which the truth about the balance is missing from his defense of the nation's defense budget.

Canceling CIA Public Reporting on the Soviet Military Budget and Activities in the Third World

Secretary Weinberger has not acted alone. William Casey, the Director of Central Intelligence, has killed the CIA's annual estimate of Soviet defense spending. The Agency will no longer publish its *Dollar Cost Comparison of Soviet and US Defense Activities*, perhaps the most quoted work it has ever issued. CIA reporting will evidently be confined to the release of selected data to the Congress and press, although in a form that will lack sufficient analytic detail

and backup to be convincing in the face of intelligent questions or criticism. According to an official CIA spokesman, the Director has done this as part of a general policy of eliminating all public CIA reporting on military matters and Soviet forces.

He has also eliminated the Agency's annual estimate of Soviet military and economic assistance to Third World countries and its reporting on the number of Soviet military and economic advisors overseas. This information used to be published in a document entitled *Communist Aid Activities in Non-Communist Less Developed Countries*.

The title of this report is so esoteric that its importance may not be obvious, but it was the only useful source of data on the number of Soviet bloc and Communist advisors in foreign countries, the number of foreign military trained in the Soviet bloc, and the size of Soviet economic and military aid to Third World nations. Without it, there is no reliable source of data on the number of Cuban, Soviet, East German, or PRC military in nations like South Yemen or Ethiopia or on the intensity of the Soviet effort to target given Third World nations.

The same CIA spokesman made it clear that the Director's new policy applies to far more than these two periodicals. When asked whether the CIA would issue any further statistical or analytic data of any kind on threat military forces, he replied, "Nothing."

Some lower-level CIA staff have raised some more serious issues. Although there is no way of confirming their views, some feel that the reporting on Soviet defense may have been eliminated because it disclosed serious analytic problems and uncertainties in the CIA effort in this area. One CIA analyst also raised the issue of whether the report on Soviet expenditures was being dropped because it would disclose a leveling out or drop in the rate of growth in Soviet defense spending and equipment production over the last two years, although he noted that this conclusion was "controversial" and scarcely reduced the rationale for increases in the US defense budget.

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THE WASHINGTON POST
28 September 1978

East-West Force Reduction Talks Face Open Split Over Troop Data

By Michael Getler

Washington Post Foreign Service

VIENNA—Allied officials at a new round of East-West troop reduction talks set to open here today privately claim that the Soviet Bloc "is either fiddling, cheating or lying" about the number of troops it has along the Central European front facing the West.

The biggest discrepancies, Allied officials say, are in the number of Soviet and Polish troops, as opposed to East German and Czechoslovak soldiers, that the Warsaw pact claims are in the region covered by the negotiations.

"How can they talk that way," counters a senior Communist diplomat here, "they have no roster" of our military units or personnel.

These opposing views concern what negotiators on both sides of the NATO-Warsaw Pact "mutual and balanced force reduction" (MBFR) talks call "the data issue."

In brief, it refers to a Western contention that the Soviet-led Pact has about 155,000 more soldiers in Central Europe than the Pact will admit to officially.

In a deeper sense, it raises the puzzling question for Western officials of why the Soviets are "fiddling, cheating or lying" overtly to the West in a field where Western intelligence is highly confident of its estimates.

The issue represents an enormous and possibly insurmountable obstacle that must be overcome if these long-stalled negotiations that have been going on for five years here are ever to yield an agreement that will reduce military forces, and hopefully tensions, along the most critical East-West border.

What makes this new round—the 16th since the talks began in October 1973—so potentially crucial as a test of good faith is that it is the first since the Soviet Bloc submitted new proposals in June.

In those proposals, the Soviet Bloc appeared to agree, at least conceptually, to the long-standing Western position that there should be approximate parity and a common troop ceiling for both forces in the region. The Soviet Bloc agreed to a common ceiling of about 900,000 army and air force personnel on each side, with the key figure being a limitation on 700,000 ground troops.

These proposals were hailed, albeit cautiously, by President Carter last June as "a step in the right direction." The Soviets, he said, had now replied to earlier Western proposals "in a very affirmative way."

In the following months, however, it became apparent that the data supplied by the Warsaw Pact and the line being taken here by Communist officials indicate no change in the Eastern arithmetic.

The allies insist that the Warsaw Pact has 962,000 ground troops and needs to withdraw 262,000 to reach the ceiling. The Soviet bloc contends it only has 805,000 ground troops and thus only has to withdraw 105,000 to comply.

The Soviets have not disputed NATO's estimate of 791,000 Western ground troops, which means a Western reduction of 91,000.

In effect, the Soviets argue that there is already rough parity in the region. But Western officials say that the Soviets appear not to have budged at all from their long-held position that they will not give up the relative numerical superiority they have al-

Some experienced Western negotiators believe that the real issue is not the data problem, but whether the Soviets will decide they want a troop reduction agreement. If they do, these officials argue, then there are enough loopholes in the data question for Moscow to proceed with an agreement, an agreement by watering down its own figures in order to reach a compromise.

The 805,000 figure was first broached, with no corresponding detail, by the Warsaw Pact in June 1976. Since then Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev has stated publicly that the Warsaw Pact has not added any more soldiers in the field. Thus, the Soviets must stick to the same figure or suggest Brezhnev's statements were false.

Actually, Western delegates here say they could not really prove Brezhnev wrong. The Soviet build-up in recent years has been in equipment rather than men, they say, and the Pact forces were much larger to begin with before June 1976.

Officials in several Western countries insist this is an area where Allied intelligence is extremely good. "The whole of Western intelligence simply could not have been that wrong for the past 15 years," one official said.

Intelligence on East Germany is viewed as especially good because of closeness to the Western borders, heavy travel by West Germans in the East and the handful of Allied military liaison posts around Berlin.

The massive movement of Soviet forces into Czechoslovakia in 1968 and a steady flow of Czech defectors also helps pinpoint data on that country. U.S. intelligence is focused heavily on Soviet forces.

Defectors, diplomats, spy satellites and electronic eavesdropping all contribute to intelligence that, along with equipment information, leads to final estimates of manpower.

As to why the Soviets would seek to confront the West with figures the West knew to be wrong, one experienced official reasons that it perhaps does not signal a harder Soviet line but is rather "a necessary stage that they must go through to convince themselves that we won't accept it."

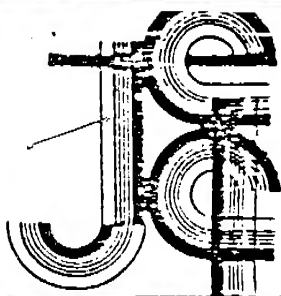
Others believe the June proposals were born out of Soviet Bloc concerns that a new NATO long-term defense program, which could offset some Warsaw Pact strength, was moving ahead and that the new proposal might help stall that initiative.

Most here view the June proposals as a clever bit of progress, "superficially seductive," as one official put it.

The move recaptured the initiative from the West so that it is now a Soviet proposal that is the most recent one on the table. Western officials here say they presently have no new proposal to present at this new round but rather will press the Warsaw Pact on providing more details in an attempt to focus on the source of the data dispute.

A Communist official says that "there are possibilities to show good will and the data discussion is not completely sterile." He suggests that the West might be counting nonmilitary groups, such as railroad repair crews, or that it is making a mistake in assigning the same military manning labels to troops in the rear as those close to the front.

Only active-duty, nonreserve troops are included in Western estimates. Still, the search for face-saving loopholes will go on.



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PROXMIRE RELEASES CIA REPORT ON SOVIET ECONOMY

Washington, D.C. -- Senator William Proxmire (D-Wis.) released today a new CIA study of economic trends and policy developments in the Soviet Union. The study, prepared by the Office of Soviet Analysis, CIA, was submitted by Robert Gates, Deputy Director for Intelligence, together with testimony presented to the Subcommittee on International Trade, Finance, and Security Economics of the Joint Economic Committee. Proxmire is Vice Chairman of the Subcommittee.

Proxmire said in a statement from his Washington office:

"The study presents the results of the CIA's latest study of the Soviet oil industry and Soviet energy prospects into the 1990's, reviews the recent performance of the economy, and provides new revised estimates of Soviet defense spending.

"According to the CIA, Soviet economic activity has picked up somewhat in the present year and the CIA now forecasts a growth rate of 3.5 to 4 percent for 1983. However, the CIA has not changed its estimate that Soviet GNP will average only about 2 percent growth annually for the next several years.

"The improvement is due in part to improved weather during the past year, in part due to Andropov's campaign for greater discipline.

"In contrast with earlier estimates, energy is no longer considered to be a serious constraint on economic growth during the 1980's.

"The CIA now believes the Soviet Union has avoided the downturn in oil production that was once predicted. Oil production is expected to continue growing, level off by the middle of the decade, and then decline slowly until 1990.

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The revised defense estimates show that the total costs of defense since 1976 has risen by only 2 percent

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WASHINGTON TIMES

11 July 1985

'Expelling U.S.' — how radicals work it

By Ted Agres
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A new coordinated radical strategy has been devised to drive the United States out of key regions of the world, according to a recent threat assessment prepared for the CIA.

The architects of the strategy, the study says, include radical Third World states and terrorist groups, with clear support from the Soviet Union.

Basic elements uniting the group, according to the report, are "extreme hostility toward the United States" and "deep anxiety over U.S. intentions and policies."

This language is strikingly similar to that used by President Reagan earlier this week in his speech to the American Bar Association when he outlined what he termed the "strategic perspective" behind the actions of international terrorists.

He said Libya, Iran, North Korea, Nicaragua and Cuba are engaged in

a "pattern of terrorism" designed "to disorient the United States, to disrupt or alter our foreign policy, to sow discord between ourselves and our allies ... [and] to remove American influence from those areas of the world where we are working to bring stable and democratic government."

"Their real goal is to expel America from the world," the president declared.

Mr. Reagan cited terrorist training camps in Libya, arms provi-

sions by Cuba and joint military operations in Nicaragua as evidence of mutual cooperation by the members of "Murder Inc."

But he provided few details of the motivations and operations behind the strategy of expulsion.

The strategy, however, is detailed in

the new report, titled "Expelling America: A New Coordinated Radical Strategy." It outlines the origins, participants, purpose and implications for the United States of this radical expulsion strategy.

It also details the involvement of the Soviet Union in fomenting Third World terrorism against U.S. interests — details Mr. Reagan did not divulge in his address.

A copy of the report was obtained by The Washington Times.

The report lists Libya, Iran, Cuba

and North Korea among the participants in the coordinated terrorist strategy. In contrast to Mr. Reagan's list, the report includes Syria, but not Nicaragua.

Mr. Reagan said his list was not inclusive, but administration officials conceded that efforts by the government to elicit Syria's help in freeing seven remaining U.S. hostages in Lebanon led to the decision

not to publicly brand Damascus at this time.

The countries participating in the coordinated strategy are seeking to expel U.S. military, political and economic influence from five key regions of the world — East Asia, South Asia, the Middle East, West Africa and Central America.

The United States is perceived as being both a "strong ideological threat" as well as a "potential military threat" to these countries, the report states.

"U.S. pro-status quo policies interfere with the radicals' political ambitions," while U.S. support for Israel is regarded by Arab radical states "as indicating U.S. strategy in the region."

Coordinated strikes against American targets are "a result of shared ideology, common enemy and joint purpose." But direct coordination is "superfluous" since the terrorists are guided by their

common ideology and methods of operation, the report states.

Their activities, moreover, are not limited to terrorism. There exist "multiple types" of anti-U.S. actions including "dislodging external strategic assets [allies, bases, etc.], stretching U.S. forces thin, and direct targeting of overseas U.S. presence and interests."

The report outlines three areas in which radicals seek to subvert U.S. relations with the allies:

- Economic subversion, includes such disruptive efforts as mining the Red Sea to halt vital tanker traffic

and seeking to subvert the Saudi oil industry and economy.

- Political subversion involves state-sponsored terrorism, for example, attacks by such groups as the PLO, Al-Jihad and the PFLP. It also includes "supporting internal insurgencies" within countries friendly to the United States, such as the Philippines, Thailand and El Salvador. Conventional military pressure and psychological warfare also are included.

- Ideological subversion involves granting scholarships to people with the potential of supporting radical objectives; holding seminars (ideological and religious); and propaganda (ideological and religious).

In discussing efforts to stretch thin U.S. forces around the world, the report cites as a case history cooperative relations between Libya and North Korea.

Starting with the U.S. shooting down of two Libyan Su-22 jetfighters over the Gulf of Sidra in 1981, North Korea and Libya began a concerted effort against U.S. interests. One week after the gulf incident, for instance, North Korea for the first time unsuccessfully attempted to shoot down a U.S. SR-71 reconnaissance aircraft with a surface-to-air missile.

Continued

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER
11 July 1985

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U.S. study links Nicaragua with Libya, Iran and PLO

By Alfonso Chardy
Inquirer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — Pressing its campaign against the "confederation of terrorist states," the Reagan administration yesterday privately circulated a new State Department report accusing Nicaragua of developing strategic ties with Libya, Iran and the Palestine Liberation Organization.

A U.S. intelligence analyst who gave the report to the Inquirer Washington Bureau said it had been prepared for the National Security Council to "back up" President Reagan's assertions Monday that five nations — Nicaragua, Cuba, Iran, Libya and North Korea — were participants in a "confederation of terrorist states."

In that speech, Reagan also listed the PLO as one of "the world's most vicious terrorist groups."

Administration sources said that Reagan's speech and the document were part of a White House campaign to prepare the American public in case Reagan decided to order military action to retaliate for recent terrorist acts against Americans in Lebanon and El Salvador.

The document has not been released formally because of objections from the State Department's Middle East bureau, which felt it could undermine U.S. efforts to promote a dialogue between Israel and a Jordanian-Palestinian delegation, the sources said.

The final draft of the report contains details of links between Nicaragua and the PLO, Libya and Iran that in some cases date to several years before the Sandinistas came to power in an insurrection against President Anastasio Somoza in 1979.

The report is intended to support

the administration's contention that Nicaragua's ties to Middle East radicals pose a threat to the Western Hemisphere.

"The Arab entities Nicaragua has chosen to deal with ... have had known involvement in terrorist activity, including the planning, training, financing and implementation of terrorist acts," it said. "The Sandinista ties with this network pose increasing dangers of violence for the Western Hemisphere."

Francisco Campbell, a minister-counselor at the Nicaraguan Embassy, said his nation "categorically rejects the affirmations published in this fabricated report." However, he did not deny the specific assertions in the document.

"We believe that it is deplorable that the administration of the United States should try to (capitalize) on the genuine concern that is to be found among the people of the United States about terrorism," Campbell added.

According to the report, the Sandinistas' relations with Middle Eastern terrorists have yielded training by the PLO, arms and money from Libya and recent oil and possibly small-arms shipments from Iran.

The report says the Sandinistas' Arab connection was established in 1969 when PLO instructors trained Nicaraguans at camps in Lebanon and Libya. One of the trainees in Lebanon, it said, was Tomas Borge, who today is Nicaragua's interior minister.

When the Sandinistas unleashed their final offensive against Somoza in 1978 and 1979, they obtained PLO assistance, through Borge, to secure weapons from North Korea and Vietnam and funds from Libya, the report said.

In July 1980, the report said, PLO leader Yasir Arafat paid a four-day "state visit" to Nicaragua and, at a reception in Managua, spoke of "strategic and military ties" with the Sandinistas.

Shortly after, the report said, Arafat sent a PLO officer, Col. Mutlag Hamadan, and 25 military advisers to Nicaragua "to give instruction in the use of Eastern-bloc weapons."

The report said the Sandinistas solidified their ties to Libya in early 1979, when Libyan leader Moammar Khadafy invited the Nicaraguans to Benghazi, Libya, and pledged money and political support.

Borge played a key role in obtaining a \$100 million loan from Libya in 1981, the report said. The Libyans have also shipped arms to Nicaragua, it added, citing the interception in Brazil in 1983 of four Libyan military planes carrying 84 tons of military equipment.

Since then, the report said, Nicaragua has become a member of a "Sandinista-PLO-Libya axis" and is developing ties with Iran.

According to the report, Nicaragua's first official contact with Iran came in May 1983 when Sandinista minister of culture Ernesto Cardenal visited Tehran and was granted a rare private audience with the Ayatollah Khomeini.

In March 1984, Sandinista leader Sergio Ramirez traveled to Iran and secured a \$23-million trade agreement, the report said.

And on Jan. 23, Iranian Prime Minister Hussein Mousavi visited Nicaragua and met with Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega. "Most observers agreed that shipment of small arms from Iran and an oil deal were discussed," the report said.

WASHINGTON TIMES
2 July 1985

What we're not being told about terrorism is killing us

With all the pap and pabulum about the moderation of Syria's President Hafez Assad and Lebanon's Minister of Justice Nabih Berri, the time has come to explain, in detail, what the intelligence community, on both sides of the Atlantic, knows about state-sponsored terrorism.

FACT 1 — Shi'ite terrorists, working hand-in-glove with the Syrian and Iranian secret services, have struck U.S. targets 16 times since April 1983 — from the kamikaze attack against the Marine compound that killed 241 to the kidnapping of seven Americans in Beirut who are still being held. It's what the specialists call low-level, low-intensity, low-risk and high-payoff warfare.

FACT 2 — The latest hijacking was not the work of extremists working in isolation. The Israeli Mossad, after many interrogations of Shi'ite prisoners, knows that Nabih Berri himself was involved in the planning of eight hijackings and two car bombings.

FACT 3 — The key supervisory role for Shi'ite extremists in Lebanon belongs to Col. Ghazi Kana'an, a Syrian intelligence operative who also functions as President Assad's pro-consul in a country Syria regards as its own. Col. Kana'an has worked closely with the KGB in Syria and in Lebanon. French counterintelligence discovered in 1983 the existence of a terrorist training camp near Damascus that specialized in car bombings and where the trainers were members of the Bulgarian DS.

FACT 4 — Col. Kana'an was in charge of the Hama massacre in February 1982 when 20,000 opponents of the minority Assad dictatorship were killed by Syrian special forces and the town virtually leveled.

FACT 5 — It was President Assad who originally authorized the installation of Iranian terrorist squads in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley. Mr. Assad has been profoundly impressed by the success of Lebanese Shi'ite suicide squads in forcing a hasty U.S. withdrawal from Beirut in 1984 and in "breaking Israel's fighting spirit"

EDITOR'S PERSPECTIVE

by Arnaud
de Borchgrave

— as he has expressed himself in recent conversations with his brother Rifaat and his top intelligence aide, Gen. Mohammed al-Kholi. Electronic surveillance — from the ground and from orbiting satellites — does produce known results.

FACT 6 — President Assad, a master of deceit and hypocrisy, underwent a dramatic psychological change in recent months. His is now inspired by the Islamic cult of Shahadah (martyrdom in a holy cause), which is characteristic of the Shi'ite extremist terrorists. This appeared to receive confirmation in an extraordinary speech he delivered to the ninth Congress of the National Federation of Syrian Students on May 4. The key excerpts:

"I have believed in the greatness of martyrdom and the importance of sacrifice since my youth. My feeling and conviction was that the heavy burden on our people and nation ... could be removed and uprooted only through sacrifice and martyrdom. ... Early in my military life, I used to discuss with my colleagues the necessity for the state to form suicide squads from among the pilots. We used the word 'suicidals' and the well-known Japanese word kamikaze. We used to say: True, every pilot is already a commando [fida'i] by virtue of his profession. Still, we must differentiate between the ordinary mission and the fida'i mission which requires the pilot to pounce on the enemy target and strike enemy ships, airports and other targets by turning himself, his plane and the bombs into one single fireball. Such attacks ... guarantee results ... in spreading terror among enemy ranks, raising people's morale, and enhancing citizens' awareness of the importance of martyrdom. Thus, waves of popular martyrdom will follow successively and the enemy will not be able to endure them."

President Assad concluded his advocacy of state-sponsored terrorism by saying that "My conviction of martyrdom is neither incidental nor temporary. The years have entrenched this conviction. ... I

hope that my life will end only in martyrdom."

FACT 7 — Mr. Assad, in person, with the assistance of Gen. Kholi, has supervised the training of handpicked kamikaze squads, including a group of fighter pilots who are now in the final phase of their training — and rehearsals — at Minakh air base north of Aleppo.

FACT 8 — A recent analysis completed on behalf of the CIA is titled "Expelling America — A New Coordinated Radical Strategy." President Assad has reached agreements with Iran and Libya for coordinated operations between the Syrian kamikazes and two other similar squads: a Libyan-controlled group, based at Tobruk, including Iranian, Palestinian and Libyan pilots, and an Iranian squad at Bandar Abbas, at the entrance to the Straits of Hormuz.

FACT 9 — West European counter-terrorism operatives have discovered that Syrian-controlled networks are now in place in Athens, Madrid, Lille and Marseilles. Iranian terrorists, disguised as mulahs, have used French mosques as safehouses.

FACT 10 — Mr. Assad's controllers for terrorist operations include Sabah Noun, who helped coordinate the Shi'ite campaign against Israeli forces in southern Lebanon, and who has now been given overall charge of operations against Israel and Jordan; Issam Kansuq, a Syrian intelligence officer; and Hossein Mansouri, the Iranian who commanded the Ayatollah Khomeini's Revolutionary Guards in Lebanon until six months ago. These are the agents who have been made responsible for liaison between Damascus and networks in West Europe and the Gulf.

FACT 11 — President Assad is convinced that he has a personal mission to harness Arab radicalism to Iran's fundamentalist fury in

Continued

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WASHINGTON TIMES
28 June 1985

MORNING BULLETIN

New report:

An analysis recently completed on behalf of the CIA is titled: "Expelling America — A New Coordinated Radical Strategy."

Defector flap

Students of the Soviet disinformation effort never fail to be amazed by the frequency with which Western volunteers come forth to besmirch the reputations of Soviet enemies. Defectors are under particular pressure to prove their bona fides. There have been a number of "quality" defectors in recent years who have caused their former masters so much acute embarrassment and harm by their public revelations it is unlikely that they have secret loyalties to the Soviet system. One is Arkady Shevchenko, former under secretary general of the United Nations and the highest ranking Soviet diplomat to defect to the West. Now comes journalist-author Edward Jay Epstein to add Mr. Shevchenko to the Nosenko, Golitsyn, et al controversies of the 1960s and early 1970s.

The Epstein technique is reminiscent of the new "McCarthyism" we have been seeing in the U.S. Senate, where the credibility of presidential nominees who have been serving their country with distinction are attacked on the basis of a memory lapse regarding some event many months or even years ago. So what? Who can remember precise details of routine events of last month, let alone five years ago? In Mr. Shevchenko's case, Mr. Epstein has set forth mercilessly with forceps and scalpel to slice up not sworn testimony, but Mr. Shevchenko's autobiography.

Mr. Epstein has shown an odd sense of timing. His attack has appeared only a month after the Senate Intelligence Committee issued a report on Soviet use of the United Nations Secretariat for espionage purposes. Mr. Shevchenko has been discussing his personal experiences of Soviet abuse of the U.N. for intelligence purposes in interviews and in his best-selling book, *Breaking With Moscow*. He also tells the story of how he, a privileged member of the Soviet elite, became disgusted and disenchanted with the Soviet system.

Washington's intelligence

community wants to know who prompted Mr. Epstein to this disservice. Some believe it originated with embittered, Byzantine old enemies of former CIA director Adm. Stansfield Turner, on whose watch Mr. Shevchenko chose to find freedom.

The CIA's routine "no comment" rule was broken yesterday: "Shevchenko provided invaluable intelligence information to the U.S. government," said the CIA spokesman. "The CIA had nothing to do with writing his book" — as Mr. Epstein charged.

Advance man

Correspondent Stephanie Nall files this from the White House: President Reagan has named James L. Hooley as one of his special assistants and director of his advance team. Mr. Hooley, 32, has worked for President Reagan, either at the White House or on a campaign staff, since 1978, when he became a consultant on the 1980 election. Since November 1983, he has been deputy director of presidential advance. That office plans the president's trips.

And:

President Reagan has chosen Charles A. Trabandt to be a member of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. If confirmed by the Senate, he would succeed Georgiana H. Sheldon, a Republican who has served in the post for two terms. Mr. Trabandt, 44, formerly served in the CIA and as chief counsel on the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. He now is counselor to the controller at the Interior Department and is a 1963 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy.

— John Elvin

Staff writer Jim Clardy contributed to this column.

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Philip Geyelin

WASHINGTON POST

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... And CIA Comics

If you like comics, you are going to love a new development in the Reagan administration's holy war against the Soviet outpost of evil in Nicaragua.

I say "holy" only because Ronald Reagan has lately claimed the support of Pope John Paul II for his Nicaraguan policy. Actually, it's by no means sure that His Holiness would bless each of the several dozen different ways that the CIA-supported Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) are trying to mobilize the Nicaraguan populace to "participate in the final battle against the usurpers of the authentic Sandinista revolution."

The quotation is from a "Freedom Fighter's Manual" that the *contras* are apparently circulating among the Nicaraguan citizenry. A peasant found it stuffed in his mail slot and passed it along to a representative of an American religious group, who forwarded it to a Washington organization that is not in sympathy with U.S. policy in Central America. A *contra* leader and U.S. intelligence sources have authenticated the manual and independently confirmed the CIA connection.

Done up crudely in the format of a color-comic section, it would be a lot funnier if its contents weren't so squarely at odds with the administration's rationale for its "secret" support of the *contras*: to interdict the flow of arms and supplies from Nicaragua to leftist insurrectionists in El Salvador. The 16-page manual is billed as a "practical guide to liberate Nicaragua from oppression and misery by paralyzing the military-industrial complex of the traitorist-Marxist state without having to use special tools and with minimal risk for the combatant."

How? You start with the little things like being late to work, calling in sick, leaving lights on and faucets running, neglecting maintenance work on vehicles and machinery, throwing tools down sewers, booking phony hotel reservations and leaving the gates open on state cattle farms.

Moving right along you put dirt or water in gasoline tanks, spill coffee on official documents, sprinkle nails on highways and plug toilets with sponges. When Ronald Reagan proclaimed at one of his press conferences that while he was not out to overthrow the Sandinistas he surely intended to "inconvenience them," he was not just whistling "Hail to the Chief." Enough of this sort of stuff could drive anybody—even the most sturdy and stoic Marxist-Leninist—around the bend.

It's not all fun and games. There are various instructions for crippling communications by cutting the cables on alarm systems and ripping down telephone lines with homemade gaffs. A rich variety of techniques is described for lousing up the transportation system: disabling truck engines, slashing tires, breaking windshields and headlights, and cutting down trees and piling rocks to block highways.

By placing a cigarette between two open matchboxes and tying them all together, you have an instant instrument for arson that gives you up to 10 minutes getaway time after lighting the cigarette.

One panel encouraging anti-Sandinist graffiti might please the Vatican. It portrays a citizen painting "Viva El Papa" on a wall, but the next panel shows people throwing bricks at police station windows, shooting out street lamps with a slingshot and bashing stoplights with a club. Finally we get instructions for making a "Molotov cocktail" with old bottles and a wick; adding shredded soap or sawdust to the fuel (gasoline or kerosene) is recommended for better results. Among the suggested targets are police stations.

Now you might say that, at worst, this is not quite on the level of the CIA's recruiting and supplying guerrilla forces or mining Nicaraguan ports. But that's not the point. Leaving methods aside, the objective is quite explicitly "the final battle against the usurpers." If that's the language of a manual the *contras* are getting from their CIA handlers, that's presumably the impression the *contras* have of the U.S. objective in Nicaragua. The impression Nicaraguan peasants are getting is that "these measures are extremely safe and without risk" and that the "essential economic infrastructure . . . can easily be disabled and even paralyzed."

So what's happening is that the United States, at second hand, is encouraging Nicaraguans to rise up (a) with the real prospect of easy success and (b) with the clear understanding that the United States is going to be with them all the way.

Since neither is the case (witness the House refusal to vote more money for the "covert" CIA activities in Nicaragua), there is not only a certain reckless irresponsibility about this operation but some problem reconciling it with the Reagan administration's high-principled outrage over economic warfare when practiced by Salvadoran rebels. Those are the reasons why the "Freedom Fighter's Manual" is less of a comic book and more of a metaphor

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HUMAN EVENTS
15 MARCH 1975

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Why Did U.S. 'Pardon' Russian Spy?

By VICTOR RIESEL

Some Central Intelligence Agency officials expect an outcry to whirlwind against CIA industrial espionage in friendly as well as "detente" nations. There will be a flurry of action inside some intelligence "stations." "Spooks"



The 20-year espionage sentence given USSR spy Ivanov was apparently wiped off the books by the State Department.

will be sent packing. "Covers" will be blown. And the U.S. industrial-military complex will be limping in a strategic field wherein it should be the swiftest.

As one source, intimately familiar with intelligence gathering, ruefully put it recently—it will cost us millions of dollars to obtain the kind of secrets in the USSR which any Soviet agent can pick up for a dollar on any American newsstand selling technical magazines.

Further, said he and he sure does know, the U.S. is being inundated by Soviet KGB agents.

They come in on Soviet vessels which now berth in 40 American ports. Of course, they come in among the thousands of commercial, cultural and scientific exchange commissions. Sometimes the U.S. even dispatches federal specialists to Russia, as was the case with the Department of Commerce, to explain policies of technical government relations. One such Commerce expert in Moscow recently to report on statistical services

Furthermore, in order not to irritate the Russians and depress them during detente, we always play the gentlemen. For example, last December 16 the very polished and elusive Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs John A. Armitage flew into Newark, N.J.—hardly a destination, usually, for so distinguished a diplomat. Mr. Armitage then went directly to the federal building. He met U.S. Attorney for New Jersey Jonathan Goldstein.

Then they went into federal court and asked the judge to put aside the 20-year espionage sentence of one Igor Ivanov. This is strange, since the last report had it that Mr. Ivanov was in Moscow supposedly driving a taxi, hardly an affair of state.

So there's need for a flashback. On Oct. 29, 1963, Ivanov, then a chauffeur for the Soviet's Amtorg Trading Corp., was arrested along with two other Russians. The FBI later proved to the courts that they had been obtaining classified secrets on Strategic Air Command computerized communications and counterstrike operations. Two of the Russians had diplomatic immunity. They had been assigned to the United Nations. They returned to the USSR.

But Ivanov, as a chauffeur for the trading corporation, was just an alien spy. So to prison he went. Then he sought release. The Russians sent word they'd truly appreciate his being permitted to leave prison and return to Moscow while on appeal. If his appeal were rejected by a higher court, why then, Ivanov simply would return voluntarily to prison. That was in 1971.

But on Dec. 16, 1974, the State Department, in the person of Mr. Armitage, and the Justice Department, in the person of John Goldstein (brooding all the way), asked the federal judge in New Jersey to set the whole thing aside. Why?

All in the interests of detente, that's why. Mr. Goldstein is more tight-lipped than a frozen clam. Ask Mr. Armitage what it's all about, he muttered as graciously as he could for a man who had been pressured by superiors into doing what he obviously found distasteful.

Seven times I tried to ask Mr. Armitage. He did not return the call. And Igor Ivanov did not return to the U.S. His sentence was simply wiped out. Yet Ivanov is one of the Soviets' most important agents. He is what you might call what like the late British-born Rudolf Ivanovich Abel.

There is evidence that Ivanov's arrest in 1963 desperately upset the KGB when it learned of the capture by the FBI from a cable sent to Moscow by the KGB "rap" or resident officer, Boris Ivanov. At least two former American ambassadors to Moscow can attest to this.

The electronic and photographic equipment discovered in Igor Ivanov's living quarters proved he was deep in industrial as well as military espionage. The secret computer system was an ITT development.

Question therefore is, why should the State Department—and on whose orders—do this favor for the Russians? Certainly the Soviets don't exactly quiver over having to break their word. Ivanov simply could have gone underground in Moscow. But if the threat of another 13 years in American prison is removed, Igor may return in some new guise in some new trade mission.

The Soviet agents are all over us. For example, when Khrushchev ran Moscow for the party during the most brutal of Stalinist purges (see his book, *Khrushchev Remembers*) one of his favorite aides was a chap by name of Potalechev (spelled phonetically). The latter was a tough purger. Yet up he turned as head of the Soviet foreign trade trust with whom scores of our top industrialists have conferred.

And there is the former Soviet secret police (KGB) chief Alexandr Shelepin. It has been charted that the KGB (all the way back to the Cheka days) was a killer machine. Yet now Shelepin is chairman of the Soviets' so-called labor federation conferring with national union leaders in Germany and with labor visitors from many lands. Just two examples.

They could be geometrically multiplied by the thousands. True, some are being monitored by the CIA and the FBI. So is some of the industrial equipment the Soviets are purchasing.

But under today's circumstances, our industrial counterespionage will be circumspect. Our spooks, domestic and international, might as well come in out of the cold. No sense being beastly about it. The Soviets might resent our intelligence people getting in their way.

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ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE A-19WASHINGTON POST
6 APRIL 1983*Donald F. B. Jameson*

CIA Petroleum Prophecy

One hears a lot about profits and petroleum when times are good (and very little about losses when times are bad), but almost nothing about prophets in the petroleum business once their big splash in the press has passed.

One of the most sensational forecasts was a CIA study six years ago, unclassified and entitled "The International Energy Situation: Outlook to 1985." Notable at the time for its estimate that the Soviet Union would soon become a net importer of oil, it caused a stir by predicting that by 1985 the Soviet bloc would "require a minimum of 3.5 million barrels of imported oil" every day. Today Soviet production is over 400,000 barrels a day higher than the highest level the CIA foresaw. The Soviets are dumping well over a million barrels a day at cheap prices on the international market.

The Soviet story grabbed headlines and drew attention away from the rest of the conclusions the CIA had arrived at in its forecast. These are the ones that really make interesting reading now. For instance, "We estimate the 1980 demand for OPEC oil will be about 34 million barrels a day, 2 million barrels a day more than in 1977." In 1980, OPEC produced an average of about 27 million barrels a day, making the CIA estimate off by 7 million barrels, or over 20 percent. For later years, reality and forecast spread much farther apart.

OPEC produced about 22.6 million barrels a day on the average in 1981 and 18.4 million in 1982. Current production is about 13 million barrels a day, although the year's average may approach 18 million if the world economy picks up a lot. OPEC's current rate of production is low, to be sure, but there it is. CIA's 1977 estimate of 1983 production, interpolating from its projections for 1980 and 1985, would have been over 40 million barrels a day, three times greater than what is actually the case. Although it will rise later this year, OPEC's average production will certainly be much less than half of the rate the agency foresaw.

It expected Saudi Arabia, for instance, would be producing about 12 million barrels a day in 1982 and "from 19 to 23" million barrels a day in 1985. Instead of 14 million barrels a day, which is where the CIA forecast would put current production, Saudi Arabia today is pumping less than 4 million and may reduce that. In its closing paragraphs, the 1977 report says, "By 1982 or 1983, sizable price increases are inevitable unless large-scale conservation measures cut demand sharply." In the real world, prices cut demand, not conservation.

The CIA's 1977 crystal ball foresaw Free World demand rising to about 55 million barrels a day in 1980 and growing to about 60 million in 1985. In fact, free world demand in 1980 was about 45 million, almost 20 percent less. Now demand is somewhere over 40 million, say 43 million. That makes its estimate of today's demand off by about one-third.

In 1979 the CIA put out another, longer study on the same subject. It noted the escalating prices of the time, but still came out with a prediction of 30 million barrels a day as OPEC's likely production rate for 1982. Instead of 100 percent error, it came down to 40. World-wide demand was also overestimated by about one-third.

It recognized that the price rise it had foreseen in 1977 for the early 1980s was taking place in 1979, but the full influence of prices on consumption was missed. One shouldn't blame the CIA alone for this failure. Industry made much the same mistake. Exxon, for example, bet billions that high prices and oil shortages would make a project to extract oil from shale rocks viable. It was as wrong as the government.

The point is not to hold hard-working analysts up to ridicule, but to ask why they went wrong. It seems to me in retrospect that the CIA basically failed to ask itself how we were going to pay for all that oil at those prices. If you had looked at the problem, you might have seen that something had to give.

What gave was oil consumption. We suddenly became much more efficient in the use of oil after the 1979 price rises. The trend of smaller increments of oil consumption per unit increase in GNP that had started in the late '60s suddenly took off in 1979. In that year the United States consumed an average of 18.5 million barrels a day of oil products. In 1982, we consumed about 15.2 million, an 18 percent drop. The GNP was about the same for both years.

What the analysts missed were the people adding more insulation to houses, buying fewer and smaller cars and keeping thermostats lower, and industry's cutting energy use drastically. That explains in part why the estimates were wrong.

There were other factors, among them one worth mentioning. President Carter, I think, wanted the country to suffer for its wanton, wasteful practices. He felt we would all be better for having learned a lesson. The apocalypse these reports foresaw was the exhaustion of oil resources before we had prepared alternatives.

This is a problem, to be sure, but it seemed to me at the time that Carter relished the contemplation of this particular form of judgment day. The reports that foresaw that day fast approaching were just what he wanted—and just what the CIA gave him.

There are some lessons to be learned from this sorry record, I believe. Perhaps the most important is that our information can be inadequate even on vital topics and the successful economy is the one that can stay flexible, capable of adaptation to whatever happens.

The writer, an oil consultant, retired from the CIA in 1973.

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ON PAGE **F-1**

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28 October 1984

The Troubling Economics of Oil

By DOUGLAS MARTIN

KUWAITI sheiks, Saudi princes and Nigerian bureaucrats live mainly on hope these days — the hope that oil production will fall everywhere but in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. And in fact there is substantial evidence that this is slowly happening.

Their hope also is that the rate of energy conservation will slow in the industrial nations and that the substitution of coal, nuclear power and natural gas for oil will reach its limits — and these trends are already evident. Their ultimate hope, of course, is that prices will rise.

Simply put, these hopes and dreams are OPEC's strategy. The 13 OPEC members hold most of the world's oil reserves; theirs is by far the cheapest to produce, and they are biding their time until the non-OPEC countries run out of crude, putting OPEC once again in the driver's seat.

But while they wait, ample supplies are available elsewhere and that will be the case "until the early 1990's," says James Schlesinger, former Secretary of Energy. Adds John H. Lichtblau, president of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation: "All the pressure on oil prices is down in this decade."

That downward pressure was dramatically evident earlier this month when Norway, then Britain and finally Nigeria cut the prices of their high-grade crudes by as much as \$2 a barrel, and oil company stocks plunged for a few days as fear spread that the drop would have no bottom. By far the biggest blow to OPEC was the action of Nigeria, one of its own. "For all practical purposes, Nigeria has left OPEC," says Stephen A. Smith, a senior vice president of Data Resources Inc.

The OPEC oil ministers are meeting tomorrow in an emergency session in Geneva to keep the initial price cuts from sparking a pell-mell downward price spiral. They are likely to be successful this time, even though the Mobil Corporation last week took the extremely unusual step of lowering its domestic oil prices on the eve of an OPEC meeting.

NEVERTHELESS, there is a lingering concern that someday later this decade, perhaps even next year, oil prices might suddenly unravel, plummeting downward in uncontrolled fashion. If that were to happen, the world would experience an oil shock as severe in its economic impact as the two it suffered when prices rocketed upwards in the 1970's.

"It would kill off Mexico — a major non-OPEC producer — along with some banks down in Texas," says a former high government official. Other national and regional economies would be virtually flattened, oil companies would give up most of their drilling as unprofitable and scores of banks with huge loan portfolios tied to energy would face the prospect of failure.

Not the least of the casualties would be OPEC, which is hardly eager to lose huge chunks of income, while it awaits the turnaround in the 1990's. Indeed, in the new economics of oil, the United States and the OPEC nations are beginning to share the common goal of a stable, relatively high oil price, although they part company on details. The United States would applaud a moderate decline in prices; the OPEC nations would resist even that.

"A precipitate fall in oil prices by a substantial amount, to say \$15-to-\$20 a barrel, could have an immediate impact on many countries," said Walter J. Levy, an energy analyst. "Major banks would be very worried. It would effect Britain disastrously. And oil states such as Texas and California would be severely harmed."

But if an unraveling of prices is to be avoided, there are also powerful arguments in favor of a moderate decline in oil price — one that might eventually settle at about \$24 a barrel, or \$5 below the current benchmark price of \$29 a barrel that OPEC is trying to preserve. Already, economists are talking about the beneficial results of the last OPEC price cut, in the spring of 1983, when similar pressures from Nigeria and Britain prompted OPEC to cut its crude prices by \$5 a barrel.

That 1983 price cut helped to push down the inflation rate in the United States and, in the opinion of many economists, may have been as much a reason for the current economic recovery as President Reagan's tax cuts. It "added \$22 billion to the spendable income of Americans, an increase roughly equivalent to the first two rounds of the Reagan tax cuts combined," said Daniel Yergin, president of Cambridge Energy Research Associates. "The cut strengthened what looked to be a fragile recovery," he said. And he added that with the economic recovery once again showing signs of petering out, the Reagan Administration would probably like to see OPEC give in this week to a \$2-a-barrel price cut.

INDEED, Data Resources Inc. is already calculating the effect on the American economy if OPEC somehow agreed to a \$5-a-barrel price cut before the end of this year. The forecasting firm said that the Consumer Price Index would drop by half a percentage point in each of the next three years and so would general interest rates. There would be an equivalent rise in the Gross National Product and auto production would rise by 700,000 vehicles — about 10 percent of current annual production — over the entire three years.

Airlines, truckers, fast-food merchandisers and land developers also would profit from less expensive energy. Other benefits would be so indirect that analysts would spend months figuring them out. For instance, aluminum makers, although they do not use petroleum in production processes, gain because commercial airline manufacturers — heavy users of the metal — would do brisker business with cheaper oil.

Continued

Even the losers — oil companies, coal producers, some coal-carrying railroads and banks with big loans to drillers or third world countries — would not suffer too much from a moderate price decline, in the opinion of many economists. "A \$1 or \$2 cut can be handled," Mr. Levy said. And the chief economist of a major oil company says that "a modest price reduction contributes to a stronger general economic performance."

Ironically, the Federal Government might be hurt the most by a moderate price decline. Washington absorbs up to 80 cents of the first \$4 reduction in the price of every barrel of oil, because of its windfall profits tax. Britain and Norway have the same problem, making their recent price reductions bitter medicine.

It is no wonder then that this week's OPEC meeting assumes something of the character of a sporting event with fans rooting for opposing sides — the start of a moderate price slide vs. the status quo. But that is probably a distorted view of the larger reality. What is going on is a complex betting game, with multifarious players and interests clashing against the changing facts of geology, economics and demography.

Here is OPEC's problem: Companies and countries do not like tying their purchases to a group that would truly love to be the tight cartel it has never quite succeeded in being. So they buy oil from non-OPEC producers first. As a result, OPEC has seen its share of world oil output plummet to 32 percent in 1983 from 54 percent in 1973. This is the consequence of two things: First, non-OPEC output from the North Sea, Mexico and elsewhere has soared. Second, consumption in the face of high oil prices fell in 1983 to its lowest point in 12 years, with approximately 35 percent of that reduction being attributed to conservation. Partly as a result, nearly one-third of the world's refining capacity is not being used.

All this is already common knowledge in the new economics of oil. What is just emerging as equally important involves the kinds of oil now being produced and purchased. The oil industry has invested huge amounts of money — \$18.2 billion in 1982 alone — to build or renovate refineries to process heavier, viscous petroleum that OPEC and other producers sell more cheaply than their benchmark brand, Arab light crude. The thick stuff has traditionally been used as the fuel burned by utilities and industry, and now it is being used to make gasoline, aviation and other products once produced almost exclusively from higher-quality light oil.

THE upshot is that producers of the once-prized lighter crudes — Britain, Norway and Nigeria — are having trouble peddling their wares and are taking the logical step of shaving prices.

International banks, although clearly nervous, see some blessings in

this situation. They have billions in loans outstanding to Mexico and Venezuela, two major non-OPEC oil producers, and they might welcome a reduction in the price of light oil, if it strengthened the price of the heavy crude these financially troubled nations pump.

But from OPEC's perspective, Nigeria's willingness to act unilaterally, as it did this month, is a troublesome chink in the armor of OPEC strategy. That country's financial woes were enough to topple a government recently and OPEC allows Nigeria to produce just 70 percent of what it is capable of pumping. Meanwhile, Mexico, not an OPEC member but certainly financially strained, pumps merrily along at a 90 percent clip. The wages of OPEC fidelity at a time of shrinking energy demand are crystal clear: Its members saw their export earnings tumble from \$267.7 billion in 1980 to \$149 billion in 1983, with a further reduction expected this year.

A waiting game is the result. Currently, decreases in the use of "stationary" oil — that is, oil used for heating and power, but not in transportation — is more than offsetting slight gains in the transportation sector. But at some point, all the large-scale substitutions of coal, nuclear power and natural gas for "stationary" oil uses will be mostly completed. Then, the upward movement in transportation demand is expected to continue and to become dominant. OPEC's expectation is that this turning point will come within a decade.

Similarly, OPEC looks forward to the day that Alaskan and North Sea production begins a steep decline, an event that is likely to occur by the end of the decade. They could only rejoice that such promising prospects as Sohio's Mukluk property in the Beaufort Sea and Exxon's Destin Anticline in the Gulf of Mexico turned out to be dry, and that expensive technologies may be reaching their limits in wringing black gold from existing fields.

MOREOVER, such insurance policies as synthetic fuels have become almost fading memories, while inventory levels have become much, much tighter — not because the oil glut has abated but because companies don't want to finance these inventories at high interest rates and are confident that oil is readily available. It is also the case that OPEC is, in a sense, reluctantly banking its oil, with a production level of only 17.5 million barrels a day — just over half the amount of a decade ago — while the rest of the world produces all out.

But, to most analysts, that hardly seems enough to make OPEC influential in the current situation. In today's world, the new wisdom is that oil revenue in the bank is worth more than a depreciating asset in the ground, a reversal of the thinking of OPEC's founders.

What helps to make oil in the ground less valuable is that worldwide reserves have risen in comparison to production, a surprisingly favorable trend. In fact, this year's oil production — about 44 million barrels in the non-Communist world — would be even weaker were it not for the exceptionally cold weather last winter and the long British coal strike.

But perhaps the most important factor working against OPEC's long-term strategy is that the world seems likely never to need as much oil as most people once thought it would. A major oil company as recently as the mid-1970's was positing that demand for OPEC oil in 1985 would be as much as 50 million barrels daily. Instead, it is slightly over 17.5 million.

The lack of demand for Saudi Arabia's oil is more dramatic still. The predictions were that the world would be guzzling some 20 million barrels a day of Saudi crude by now, and American policymakers less than a decade ago were making nervous trips to the desert kingdom to urge the royal family to quickly increase its production capability to handle this demand. Instead, the Saudis, although still OPEC's biggest producers, have tightened the faucet to 4.5 million barrels daily, and might go as low as 3 million barrels as a result of tomorrow's meeting. That's roughly 25 percent of capacity.

A major reason for the decline in demand is the gains that have been made in conservation and energy effi-

Continued

ciency. And these gains will not likely be lost, mostly because these gains are largely the result of technology not the behavior of people. For instance, although Americans are using slightly more gasoline this year than last year — partly because it is cheaper — the automobile companies are adopting such technologies as an automatic transmission that is as fuel-efficient as manual shift. Already a big car like the Buick Electra gets 17 miles a gallon in city driving, compared with the 9 or 10 miles that similar models got in the mid-1970's.

Roger Sant, a former top energy official in the Ford Administration and now head of a company selling energy-efficiency equipment to industry, said this process would continue as long as the price of oil remains above \$15 a barrel.

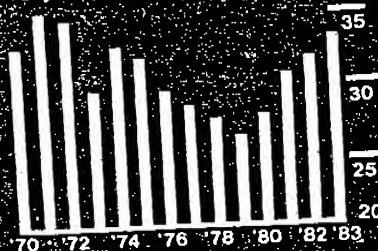
Moreover, the very structure of the market has become so competitive that a return to OPEC price-setting power might be difficult. Flexibility, not the security of a guaranteed source of supply, is what concerns buyers. Today, contracts are written for a maximum of three months, rather than five years as formerly. As much as half the oil in the world is probably traded on a spot basis, rather than through the traditional contract purchases. That's up from 5 to 10 percent at the beginning of the decade.

Indicative of the change has been the tremendous growth in the trading of crude oil futures on the New York Mercantile Exchange. These contracts, representing a promise to deliver a fixed amount of oil at an agreed-upon price at a fixed date in the future, are even more sensitive to price change than the spot market and therefore have become a major vehicle for oil purchases. Since the new contracts began to be offered in March 1983, daily volumes have grown beyond the amount of crude produced in the United States in a day.

"When the market speaks, OPEC now listens," Mr. Yergin said. ■

Supplies Have Grown

Years of remaining oil reserves
(Expressed as a ratio of proven
reserve volume to production
at yearend)



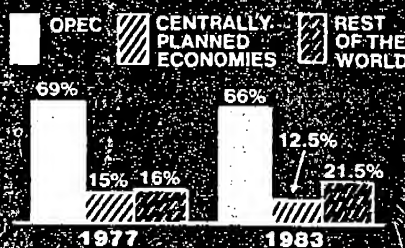
OPEC's Oil Earnings Are Down

Oil export earnings in
billions of U.S. dollars



But OPEC Still Has a Trump Card

Shares of proven oil reserves
at yearend



Sources: International Energy Statistical Review, CIA: Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, N.Y.: 1983
British Petroleum Review of World Energy

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International Report

Briefs

Agencies disagree on debt

A GOVERNMENT STUDY of the foreign debt crisis apparently has concluded that the problem will be solved by economic recovery among the major industrial nations. This finding is likely to play a critical role in determining the American negotiating position at the seven-nation economic summit conference to be held at Williamsburg, Va., later this month. It would argue, for example, against major new initiatives to deal with the debt problem. However, there are strong dissents to this optimistic view from the Central Intelligence Agency and the staff of the National Security Council. Both agencies are said to be quite concerned about the ability of developing countries to keep up with their debt repayment. According to one account, these agencies argue that the problem could become unmanageable in 12 to 18 months, even with fairly strong economic recovery. Developing nations owe roughly \$600 billion to governments and commercial banks. Much of this debt is being renegotiated because it cannot be paid on time. Widespread defaults could undermine the stability of many of the world's largest banks.

New York Times News Service

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[redacted]
Director
Public Affairs office
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, DC 20505
[redacted]

The new map of Jordan is beautiful! Its colors are attractive. What makes it especially lovely is its dramatic improvement in accuracy over the preceding summary map of Jordan and over many of the maps of the Middle East still in circulation.

The new map should inspire correction of other new official maps which embrace Jordan and also the correction of erroneous maps in the media, in encyclopedias, atlases, textbooks, and other reference works.

The accurate maps and text in the annual CIA WORLD FACTBOOK have already been useful in the work of endeavoring to supplant the general misinformation about the status of the area in question. I am confident the accurate maps and texts on Jordan in future editions will also help in this work.

Many thanks for your gracious letter of July 28 and for the copy of the map. I am grateful to you for both. Many thanks, too, for your significant contribution to the issuance of the new map. I am writing to Robert M. Gates to thank him for bringing us together a year ago January 2. Enclosed is a copy of my letter.

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May I also note that you are ably represented by [redacted]
[redacted] She is both competent and personable.

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A SOBERING TRIP THROUGH THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY
By JIM ANDERSON
WASHINGTON

By chance, Martin Miller discovered in 1981 that there was a big mistake in government publications about who legally owns the West Bank, occupied by Israel since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war.

The discovery led him on a four-year odyssey through the snail-like workings of the federal bureaucracy that left Miller a lot more cynical about the government he once worked for.

Miller, a retired Treasury Department employee, found U.S. publications gave ownership of the 2,200-square-mile area to Jordan.

But Jordan's 1950 annexation of the West Bank is not recognized by any government except Britain and Pakistan, and in 1974 even Jordan gave up its claim to the area.

The United States considers the area occupied territory, with ownership to be determined by negotiation, but the area still is shown on U.S. maps to be an occupied part of Jordan.

Miller, filled with confidence in the essential goodness of the U.S. government, pointed out the cartographic mistake in a polite letter. The State Department geographer responded, saying the department would tell all government publications that the West Bank is not under the sovereignty of any Middle East country -- including Jordan.

In 1983, the State Department announced that the mistaken map would be changed in the next edition of the "World Factbook," which is published by the CIA under the policy direction of the State Department.

The map was corrected, but the accompanying text was still wrong, giving back to Jordan what the map took away.

The matter was brought up at the State Department press briefing and spokesman John Hughes, whose office is in charge of the subject, promised something would be done.

Nothing was.

Miller then called in one of his big IOUs, a casual friendship with George Shultz. Miller saw Shultz in April 1984 and explained his story. The secretary of state promised quick action.

Another year passed. Miller, carrying a briefcase full of letters, maps, books and promises, went from the CIA to Capitol Hill and back to the State Department.

At the CIA, spokeswoman Patti Volz told him the agency has no intention of revising, replacing or changing maps of Jordan published by the U.S. government at this point in time.

Miller wondered aloud if the rest of CIA intelligence is as accurate as its maps of the Middle East.

Continued

A SOBERING TRIP THROUGH THE FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY
BY JIM ANDERSON
WASHINGTON

In 1981, Martin Miller discovered by chance that there is a serious mistake in U.S. government publications about the legal ownership of the West Bank, occupied since the 1967 Arab-Israeli war by Israel.

The discovery led him on a four-year odyssey through the snail-like workings of the federal bureaucracy that left Miller a lot more cynical about the government he used to work for.

Miller, a retired Treasury Department employee, found U.S. publications gave ownership of the 2,200-mile-square area to Jordan, but Jordan's 1950 annexation of the West Bank is not recognized by any government except Britain and Pakistan. In 1974, even Jordan gave up its own claim to the area at the Rabat conference.

The United States considers the area to be occupied territory, the ownership to be determined by negotiation, but the U.S. maps don't reflect this. The area is shown on U.S. maps to be an occupied part of Jordan, something that even Jordan does not now claim.

Miller, filled with confidence in the essential goodness of the U.S. government, pointed out the cartographic mistake in a polite letter and even had it brought up in public at the State Department daily press briefing.

Miller received a letter from the State Department geographer saying the department would tell all government publications that the West Bank is not under the sovereignty of any Middle East country (including Jordan).

Two years later, Miller trudged from the State Department to Capitol Hill to the Central Intelligence Agency. The State Department announced that the mistaken map would be changed in the next edition of the "World Factbook," which is published by the CIA, under the policy direction of the State Department.

The map was corrected, but the accompanying text was still wrong, giving back to Jordan what the map took away.

The matter was brought up at the State Department Press briefing, and spokesman John Hughes, whose Public Affairs branch is in charge of the subject, promised that something would be done.

In fact, nothing was done.

Miller then called in one of his big IOUs, a casual friendship with George Shultz, now secretary of state, but head of the Treasury when Miller was pushing defense bonds.

Shultz agreed to see Miller, who quickly explained the story to Shultz in his seventh-floor office. Shultz promised quick action.

Another year passed and Miller, carrying a briefcase full of letters, maps, books, and promises, went from the CIA to Capitol Hill and back to the State Department.

Continued

ARTICLE APPEARED
IN 21

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR
28 November 1984

LETTERS

Mappings

Martin H. Miller's story "A victory for mapmaking" [Nov. 6] is interesting because it implies that "things" concerning the "mapping" of Jordan's West Bank were put back in "order" with international law and logic.

Mr. Miller's story has in my view another flip, and it goes as follows: In 1947, the international community represented by the United Nations General Assembly devised a partition plan of all Palestine into two states: one Jewish, one Palestinian. This is the primary and legal premise of the world's recognition of the State of Israel. Unification of Transjordan with what remained of the part that was allocated for the Palestinians in the UN partition plan cannot be compared in any reasonable way with Israel's claim of the said 2,200 square miles of land.

Jordan in 1948 did not expel any army or government from that area; Jordan preserved its Arab identity.

Israel in 1967 did expel Jordan from that area and enforced total military control over it. This action is not recognized by any state in the world.

It is a poor argument to say that because not all states recognized Jordan's sovereignty over that area, all states including the US should recognize Israel's military conquest of the same area, and consequently remap it as part of Israel. The UN's partition plan was and should remain the only legal premise when people are concerned with remapping regions such as this one.

Mr. Miller can rejoice in his accomplishment, but can the CIA and State Department afford to follow suit?

Pat Reynolds
Arlington, Va.

A victory for mapmaking

By Martin H. Miller

THE Central Intelligence Agency has stopped depicting the so-called "West Bank" as an integral part of the Kingdom of Jordan. For the first time since Jordan was evicted from the area in the war of 1976, this area, which has long been the focus of American foreign policy, is not presented in a CIA map and text as Jordan's in perpetuity.

It took almost three years of effort — articles in newspapers, many letters and phone calls and visits, and extensive help from my congressman, Rep. Michael D. Barnes (D) of Maryland — to bring this about.

The accurate map of Jordan and accompanying text are in the new edition of the CIA's annual "World Factbook," which can be bought at government bookstores or ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The "West Bank" consists of only 2,200 square miles of land. But few areas of the world — and none so tiny — have received as much attention from presidents of the United States, our secretaries of state, national-security advisers, or directors of the CIA.

All that the agency responsible for evaluating "intelligence relating to the national security" did in depicting the area in question was to violate United States legal policy and the facts. The CIA did this at the direction of the State Department, which calls the shots for government mapmakers.

In small State Department and CIA maps, the area on the west side of the Jordan River was simply shown as Jordan. On larger maps, the area was shown by markings, color, and nomenclature as part of Jordan "occupied" by Israel.

The consequence has been that a person looking at a map of the "West Bank" has asked himself, "What business does Israel have here? This is part of Jordan." Israel is labeled a transgressor and, consciously or not,

government policymakers have been influenced in their attitude toward Israeli actions in the area.

Against such a background measures, like President Reagan's ill-fated Sept. 1, 1982, "Middle East Initiative" make sense. This called for a confederation between the "West Bank" and Jordan. The President termed the plan "the greatest foreign policy accomplishment of my administration." It was rejected by all of the proposed participants.

My campaign to make the State Department of the United States and the Central Intelligence Agency "honest" began with a letter dated Nov. 4, 1981, to Alexander Haig, then secretary of state. I asked, "Should the so-

called 'West Bank' be shown as part of Jordan in maps issued by the Department of State," and observed that "Not even the members of the Arab League recognized Jordan's sovereignty over this area."

The reply came six weeks later in a letter from Lewis M. Alexander, director of the State Department's Office of the Geographer. He conceded that only Great Britain and Pakistan had ever acknowledged Jordan's sovereignty over the area. In short, the US did not endorse Jordan's 1948 military occupation of the area. Nevertheless, even after Jordan was expelled from there in 1967, the State Department and the CIA continued to show it as Jordan's.

In 1974 at the Rabat Conference of the Arab League,

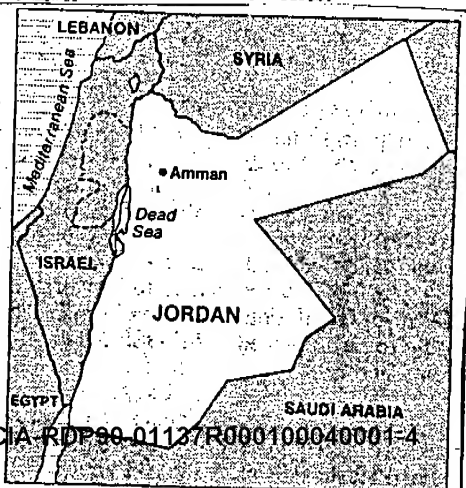
Jordan's King Hussein relinquished Jordanian claims to the area. The State Department and the CIA continued to show it as Jordan's.

Nongovernment publishers and the media followed suit. For the public, for journalists, for students, and for present and future presidents and secretaries of state — for an entire generation of Americans — the "truth" from our trusted sources from every side has been that the "West Bank" is an integral part of Jordan.

This has influenced our perceptions of "right and wrong" in judging the area and what the US should do about it.

The work to get the State Department to cease the dissemination of erroneous and misleading data about Jordan and the "West Bank" has brought results, although much remains to be done. The CIA and 10 other mapmaking agencies were told in a State Department directive dated Sept. 30, 1982, to make specified changes in their new maps of the Middle East. This was the first breakthrough. The accurate map and text in the CIA 1984 fact book came next.

Martin H. Miller is a free-lance writer.



ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE B-5WASHINGTON POST
8 March 1984

DIVERSIONS: The World of Maps

By Dana Hay

Like reluctant daffodils, human spirits meet March winds with hunched imaginations, yearning for April's balm. It is a good season for charting a new course by the hearthside, bound in by an atlas or spinning the globe.

For more specific perusings, there are sources for every type of map: cultural, physical, political, as well as those designed for the traveler, land developer or business person.

The Cartographic Division at the National Geographic Society (NGS) prepares cultural and political maps as magazine inserts and as separate wall maps, many available on either paper (\$3) or plastic (\$4).

"The Peoples of China" is printed on both sides, multicolored, 37½ x 30½ inches. Other maps in this series depict ethnic groups of the Soviet Union, Southeast Asia and the Arctic region, as well as Indians of both North and South America.

U.S. maps include "Wild and Scenic Rivers," "Heart of the Grand Canyon" and "America's Federal Lands." Avian fans will appreciate the colorful "Bird Migration in the Americas."

Regional subjects vary from the historical map, "Mideast in Turmoil," chronicling changing conditions since 1800, to "Holy Land Today."

History buffs can find the NGS "Battlefields of the Civil War," 30 x 23 inches; the National Ocean Service (NOS) map of General Sherman's 1863-65 marches from Washington, D.C., to Brunswick, Ga., 31 x 50 inches (\$3), or, for the Colonial period, the Library of Congress Gift Shop facsimiles of a 1639 map of Manhattan (\$15) and John Smith's Map of Virginia (\$1.75).

For archival research, the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress boasts the largest, most comprehensive cartographic collection in the world—more than 3.8 million maps and 47,000 atlases.

Genealogists and local historians can refer to the large collections of 19th- and early 20th-century county and state

maps, as well as atlases of Colonial and Revolutionary periods. There also are photoreproductions of manuscript maps from other American and European archives. The Library's Hummel and Warner Oriental collections include rarities from the 17th century.

For reference or travel, both the CIA and the DOD Defense Mapping Agency (DMA) offer current foreign maps. CIA maps are folded in various sizes (\$3.50)

from the GPO. DMA presents a unique view of the world, the "Great Circle Map," with Washington, D.C., at the center of the world and no political boundaries, 34 x 42 inches (\$4.10). Other DMA maps include a timely "Middle East Briefing Map," Series 1308, 34 x 38 inches (\$2.20) and a colorful "Time Zone Map," (\$5) from the DMA Office of Distribution Services or The Map Store.

British Ordnance Survey, Institut Geographique National, Kommerly & Frey and other foreign maps are among The Map Store collection representing more than 150 publishers.

Domestic travelers may note that several geologic/highway maps (\$5 plus \$1.50 postage and handling), published by the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, are stocked by the Audubon Book Store. Hikers and cyclists find helpful the pocket-fold maps of the Potomac Appalachian Trail Club. Prepared by Club committees, these topographic renditions are based on U.S.G.S. data, with additional trail information. Prices and postage fees vary.

A "Visitors Guide to National Wildlife Refuges, 17 x 22 inches (\$2.25), is prepared by the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service and available from the GPO.

Planning to do something about the weather? The National Weather Service (NWS) Climate Analysis Center produces temperature and precipitation probability maps and tables. The "Monthly and Seasonal Weather Outlook" is published in 9x12-inch format, 2/month (annual subscription \$31), from the GPO.

The NWS Forecast Division offers 3-to-5 day and 6-to-10 day forecast maps, mailed folded from the Technical Support Group in Camp Springs, Md. Earthquake activity can be seen on the USGS 20 x 33-inch "Seismicity Map of Delaware and Maryland," a study in black and white.

The National Ocean and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) aeronautical navigation charts cover low and high altitudes, jet navigation and airport obstructions (\$1.10-\$14).

The National Ocean Service produces bathymetric, navigation training, offshore mineral leasing and small-craft maps in pocket-fold size, as well as tide tables, tidal current and Great Lakes canoe charts (\$2.75-\$8) and shoreline movement studies (set of 18, \$10).

The National Marine Fisheries Service *Angler's Guide to the United States* is published by region; Section 5 on the Chesapeake Bay includes 4 maps (\$9) from GPO. A colorful LANDSAT image of the Bay and vicinity can be ordered from USGS, 39 inches square (\$3.60).

Other views from space are the NGS photomosaic satellite "Portrait U.S.A.," 42½ x 29½ inches, and the Apollo Astronauts/Earth Photo, 34 x 23 inches. NGS depictions of the Moon, Mars, Solar System and Universe all contain descriptive text.

Collecting and supplying technical information since 1879, the U.S. Geological Survey is the source of some of the world's most beautiful and accurate maps, both topographic (\$2.25) and geologic (\$1.90-\$6.60), many areas in

choice of three scales. To receive notice of new USGS publications, write Mailing List Unit, USGS, 329 National Center, Reston, Va. 22092.

The Maryland Geologic Survey has a varied selection of maps, from recently published revelations of sedimentary and crystalline rock formations in Baltimore County and City, 41 x 49 inches (\$4) to such interesting 1935 maps as those showing the original Baltimore

shoreline in black with green overlay, printed on tracing-weight paper for framing, 28 x 35 inches (50 cents).

The Virginia Department of Conservation Division of Mineral Resources offers a multicolored "Mineral Resource Map of Virginia" (\$8), with a supplemental 28-page Directory (\$4) and aeroradiometric maps presenting contour images of three radioactive elements in areas such as the Culpeper Basin (\$3).

Other resource-management maps, available from the Bureau of Land Management Western Office, include wilderness study areas for 10 western states, public domain lands and aerial photos of townships.

If the above lures you from the winter wearies and serves as introduction into the world of maps, perhaps more intensive explorations may interest you. Try, for example, "The Map Collector," a British quarterly publication (about \$30 annual subscription) from Church Sq., 48 High St., Tring, Hertfordshire, England, U.K. HP23 5BH.

Map enthusiasts also may join The Washington Map Society (\$10). Send SASE to Robert Hansen, 3051 Idaho Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016.

Dana Hay is a Washington writer.

18 February 1979

Article appeared
on page C-1

Immerses Himself in Detail, But Personal Contact Is Limited

Carter as Foreign Policy Manager: He 'Does Good Things Badly'

By Don Oberdorfer

EXCERPT:

The 13 days of Camp David, Carter's high-stakes gamble undertaken with no assurance of success, stands as the high point of his personal diplomacy. Its ups and downs have been recounted in detail. What is not well known, however, is that basic agreement to an Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty was not among even the objectives as assessed in advance by the White House, and that Carter drafted the core of the bilateral accord in his own hand and at his own initiative midway through the Camp David meetings.

Later, in preparation for the Blair House talks which aimed at completing the treaty, Carter obtained a huge map of the Sinai from the CIA and with the aid of U.S. geographers drew the interim withdrawal lines and final military zones for submission to the Egyptian and Israeli negotiators. He also worked on the details of the proposed 10-article treaty which the U.S. presented to the two sides at the outset of the Blair House negotiations.

All this, in the absence of commensurate progress toward agreement on the West Bank and the Palestinian question, represented a major turn toward a bilateral Egyptian-Israeli accord rather than the comprehensive Mideast peace Carter had steadfastly promoted before. As in his watering down of SALT II objectives from deep cuts to marginal reductions in strategic weaponry, Carter took a pragmatic approach under pressure without for-

mally giving up his more ambitious goal. The great question in these areas, as in human rights, nuclear proliferation and other fields where he has had to compromise, is whether and to what extent he will persist in pursuing the long-term objectives.

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20 June 1977

Washington Whispers

★ ★ ★

*So quickly do new nations spring up or
achieve independence these days that
the Central Intelligence Agency now
prints its world maps by computer,
allowing revisions in a twinkling.*

Chicago Tribune
2 August 1975

Spy role of missionaries told

By James Robison

Religion Editor

HE SPOKE matter-of-factly. But what he said had far more impact than the way he said it. It revealed a pattern of alleged CIA entanglement with the church.

"It just seemed that when I made these phone calls I kept turning up missionaries who had CIA involvements or knew someone who did," John Marks, co-author of "The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence," said in a telephone interview with The Tribune.

Marks, who worked five years as an analyst for the State Department's Intelligence Bureau, said that 30 to 40 per cent of his calls produced a missionary who had a story of CIA-church connections overseas or knew someone who did.

"There must be a lot of it [CIA-church connections] because I didn't even look very hard," Marks said, noting that his sampling was completely unscientific and involved about 30 missionaries.

MARKS, HOWEVER, had other stories culled from his knowledge of the intelligence community. But he refused to name names, something that got him into a tussle with the courts in the publication of the book that he wrote last year with Victor Marchetti, a 14-year CIA veteran.

He told The Tribune about:

- A Catholic bishop in Viet Nam who was on the CIA payroll until at least 1971.

- A Protestant missionary to Bolivia who filed CIA reports naming people he suspected of being Communists.

- A missionary in India who supplied data to the CIA but then stopped when he realized "how foolish" it was.

- Another Protestant missionary in Bolivia who kept tabs on the Communist Party, labor unions, and farmers' cooperatives in behalf of the CIA.

Marks' allegations follow recent reports that Belgian Jesuit Roger Veke-mans received \$10 million in CIA and Agency for International Development funds from the Kennedy administration in 1963 to counter the growing Leftist sentiment in Chile.

MARKS SAID IT was a common attitude among members of the intelligence community to use anyone, regardless of his position, to secure information or further CIA goals.

"Hell, I'd use anybody if it was to the furtherance of any objective," one intelligence officer was quoted by Marks. "I've used Buddhist monks, Catholic priests, and even a Catholic bishop."

But being unwittingly used by the CIA may have been a more common occurrence for missionaries, Marks said. He spole of several examples where money was supplied by the CIA thru various front organizations:

- A grant of \$5,000 from the Asian Free Labor Institute for educational programs aimed at trade unions was to be funnelled to a priest in India until he discovered the money was from the CIA. He turned down the grant.

- A "Msgr. Salcedo" regularly accepted money for a church-run radio program aimed at combating illiteracy but also broadcasting anti-Communist propaganda.

Another CIA-funded illiteracy program in Colombia used nuns who unwittingly collected data for the CIA as part of their field work.

But how reliable are Marks' allegations?

"THE SPECIFIC allegations that Marks makes are pretty credible," said Thomas Quigley, a Latin American expert with the United States Catholic Conference.

"I frankly don't believe that the CIA finds information from missionaries very important," said the Rev. Eugene Stockwell, head of the National Council

NEWSWEEK
25 July 1983

INTERNATIONAL

SOVIET UNION

How Sick Is Yuri Andropov?

The old man's left hand trembles noticeably. Or maybe it's his right hand; other reports say the left hand appears "numb and stiff." His shuffling walk suggests infirmity, but then a foreign visitor can emerge from a tête-à-tête calling him alert and vigorous. That calm expression: does it reflect the cool of a clever negotiator—or another symptom of Parkinson's disease? And those disappearances: has he slipped off to a *dacha*—or to a hospital for kidney dialysis? Taking the evidence as a whole, the patient obviously suffers from heart disease. Or perhaps diabetes. If only half the health bulletins on Moscow's rumor circuit bear any truth, the wonder is that Yuri Andropov can still get out of bed in the morning.

Without question, Andropov, 69, does not appear to be feeling very well these days. The extent of his ailments are, of course, a state secret. But after a major reassessment of the Soviet leader's health, U.S. intelligence officials now endorse a guardedly optimistic prognosis. They have concluded that Andropov does not suffer from any major nerve diseases or cancer. They have also ruled out a serious kidney ailment requiring dialysis—although many Kremlin watchers in Moscow believe evidence to the contrary. One of the Soviet leader's main complaints appears to be a heart illness dating back at least to the 1960s. His treatment, a senior U.S. intelligence official told NEWSWEEK, probably includes an American-made pacemaker. The study's overall

conclusion: Andropov is indeed a sick man who does not wear his years as well as Ronald Reagan. But "according to our actuarial tables," says the intelligence source, "Yuri Andropov is going to be around for a while."

The intelligence analysts concede that their medical chart on Andropov is far from complete. Western diplomats and journalists in Moscow must diagnose his maladies from what they see of him on television and hear from the foreign leaders who meet him in person. Intelligence services also debrief visitors, analyze photos and process any useful tidbit of evidence. For example, they monitor Soviet orders for foreign medical supplies. The stakes riding on an accurate diagnosis are high—especially when the Reagan administration is considering a U.S.-Soviet summit meeting. "You naturally don't want to be bargaining with someone who's not going to be around very long," says the U.S. intelligence official.

Tremors: The latest alarm rang in Moscow earlier this month when Andropov missed two scheduled appointments with West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. "I was sick," he told Kohl when he finally showed up for the third. Once the session began, Andropov appeared mentally alert, West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher told his allies in Washington last week. The Soviet leader spoke without notes and acted very much like the man in charge. But in Washington, a team of doctors employed by U.S. intelligence began

working on their urgent reassessment of the Soviet leader's health. A videotape study showed that Andropov's hands trembled when he used them—a common problem for older people—not when he rested them. The conclusion was that the tremors did not indicate Parkinson's disease. The analysts also ruled out Alzheimer's disease and Hodgkin's disease. In addition, he did not appear to restrict his consumption of sugar as a diabetic would. Nor was there any evidence that Andropov consistently used medicinal drugs that might hamper his powers of thought or speech.

More controversial, the U.S. team concluded that the pattern of Andropov's public appearances argued against any major kidney disease; he drops from sight often, but dialysis treatment would require more regular absences. That finding contradicted persistent rumors in Moscow—some originating from a medical source with contacts among Andropov's physicians—that the prominent patient suffered from serious kidney problems. After his no-show appointments with Kohl, West Germans in the chancellor's party had even spread private Soviet reports that Andropov had passed a kidney stone—a version that U.S. intelligence says could be plausible.

The evidence that Andropov has serious heart problems—complicated by high blood pressure—is much better established. He has had at least two heart attacks, the second in 1966. And the Soviet leader himself disclosed that he has an American-made pacemaker. Andropov mentioned the device during a meeting with a Western delegation, according to the U.S. intelligence source. Somebody in the delegation mentioned Minneapolis; Andropov tapped his chest and said he "knew about Minneapolis." A

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11 October 1983

Iran Again Threatens All Oil Shipments From Persian Gulf; Spot Prices Edge Up

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK—Iran again warned the big Arab oil exporters that it will halt oil shipments out of the Persian Gulf if Iraq unleashes its newly acquired French Super Etendard warplanes; spot oil prices began edging up in anticipation of such a possible oil shock.

The latest Iranian warning was made to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates, according to an Iranian government official who asked not to be identified. They were told last week, the official said, "in clear language that in case of an attack on us they will also suffer."

Iran's warning came as France was completing delivery to Iraq of five Super Etendard warplanes capable of firing French-made Exocet missiles already in Iraq's possession. Any use by Iraq of the missiles would mark a major escalation in the fighting, and spot crude oil, heating oil and gas-

last long and could be partly mitigated by alternate supplies from other oil producers around the world. And, in an apparent effort to cool Western concern, a senior Iranian official said in a telephone interview that he doubts the Iraqis would carry out their threats to unleash the missiles. "We don't take these Super Etendards so seriously," the Iranian official said.

The relatively calm reaction from oil industry and military sources in the U.S. and Western Europe is based on the view that Western powers, led by the U.S., won't allow a cutoff of crude-oil supplies from the region to last longer than a week. It is also supported these sources say by vast new strategic reserves of oil held by Western industrial countries and Japan. These can make an anticipated shortage in supplies from the Gulf for as long as three months.

The relative ease with which the developing crisis is being viewed in Western governments and industry circles reflects the lessons learned from previous world oil crises, including the Arab oil embargo of 1973 and the Iranian revolution of 1979, which took three million barrels of supply off the market, causing panic and a huge jump in oil prices, sources say.

Among other things, experts say, the industrialized nations hold more than 90 days of oil supplies in reserve and there is almost a month's supply in tankers at sea.

Furthermore, Iran's navy and armed forces are deemed incapable of effectively blocking access to the Gulf for longer than a few days in the face of a formidable armada of U.S., French and British navy ships just outside the Gulf.

Col. Jonathan Alford, deputy director of the London International Institute of Strategic Studies, estimates Iran's naval power at three destroyers, four frigates and 10 fast patrol boats. He figures that if Iran tried to close the Gulf to navigation it would have to mine it. The U.S. Navy in the region could undo such action by use of minesweepers and helicopters in "a couple of days or a week at most," he said.

Iran also might use missiles and ground artillery to hit ships or use its air force to damage neighboring countries' oil-loading facilities. But military sources don't foresee Iran's ability to sustain such action for long, partly because of the lack of equipment.

The world won't escape a measure of crisis if the Iran-Iraq war gets out of hand. Oil markets are nervous despite the overwhelming oil glut that prevails. Yesterday, the rising rhetoric of Iraq and Iran, for instance, sent up sharply, prices of crude oil, heating oil and gasoline futures. Home-heating oil prices for November delivery rose 1.39 cents a gallon to 82.83 cents a gallon.

Industry sources believe there would be an oil-price rise and a degree of panic if the war spilled over to other producers in the Gulf or resulted in closing the Hormuz Straits entrance to the Gulf. But they believe the panic could be contained and the price rise moderated.

Officials of the Paris-based International Energy Agency, the 21-nation crisis-management group set up after the Arab embargo, say the shortage of oil exports would be less than traumatic.

Although somewhere between 8 million and 9 million barrels of oil are shipped through the Strait of Hormuz every day from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iran, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates—not all will be missed.

Other oil producers such as Nigeria, Libya, Mexico, Venezuela, Algeria, Indonesia, Britain, Norway and the U.S., could make up three million barrels a day of the shortage by boosting their production within a few weeks.

In addition, Saudi Arabia, which has an overland pipeline crossing from the Eastern province oil fields of Yanbu, a Red Sea port on its Western coast, can divert almost another 1.5 million barrels a day from the Gulf.

Currently, the pipeline, with a capacity of 1.8 million barrels a day, is moving only about 400,000 barrels a day, industry sources said. The oil glut is forcing the other producers to reduce available capacity. Nigeria, alone, is producing 1.3 million barrels a day, and its capacity could be increased to as much as 2.2 million barrels daily.

Some experts question whether some of these countries would be willing, or able, to increase their production quickly enough to make up a sizable shortage. Nevertheless, International Energy Agency and U.S. officials think a crisis would be manageable.

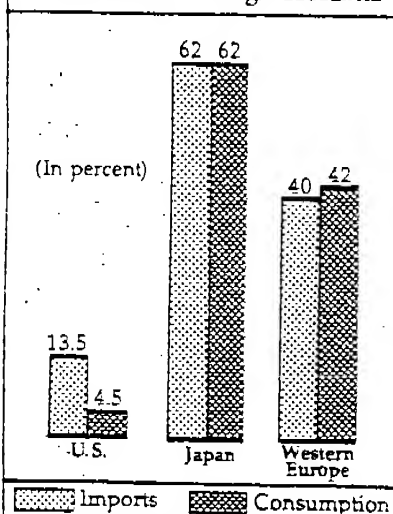
"I don't see a crisis meeting of the (agency's) governing board in the first week, maybe not even in the first month," said one agency source. Sources at the energy agency said that the emergency exercise it carried out last spring and summer, assumed a shortage of more than eight million barrels a day that lasted several weeks. It included a cutoff of Gulf oil exports as well as those of Nigeria, the sources said.

In that exercise, a crisis situation was developed that resulted in pushing oil prices in the U.S. to the theoretical level of \$98 a barrel in just several weeks. Agency officials said this was the result of a much more acute crisis, however, and one that was far less likely to occur than the prospect of a Gulf shortage.

"We will get a psychological reaction no matter how short the interruption is, but we think it isn't going to be critical," the agency source said.

Many Arab diplomatic observers believe Iraq is deliberately fanning the threat of a wider war to get Western and regional powers involved in pressuring Iran to end the

Dependence on Oil
Delivered Through Hormuz



Crude oil and refined petroleum products from Bahrain, Iran, Kuwait, Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in 1982 as percentages of Western oil imports and of Western oil consumption. Oil passing through the Straits of Hormuz makes up a smaller share of U.S. total oil consumption because the U.S. produces most of the oil it uses.

Source: Central Intelligence Agency.

line prices all climbed sharply on the possibility that the escalation could interrupt or slow down passage via the Straits of Hormuz, through which travels about 20% of oil shipped to the West.

But even while such warnings were being passed, analysts in the West were cautioning that any impact from such a crisis wouldn't

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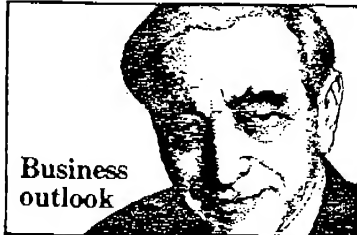
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By J.A. LIVINGSTON



CIA reports on the world

Maybe this will surprise you. It did me. For many years, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) assembled from numerous sources a unique report on the economic and political facts of nations. It was a classified document for internal CIA use and for distribution within the government.

In the early '70s, it was realized that much of the material was not secret and would be of value in reference libraries and to teachers, economists, scholars, businessmen and people interested in international affairs. In 1975, a declassified version was put out as the National Basic Intelligence Factbook, and made publicly available. Subsequently, the name was changed to The World Factbook, which better describes what it is.

In size, it is letter paper — 11 by 8½ inches. It comes in soft-cover, and the 1984 edition, which has just come out, consists of 274 pages plus 12 excellent maps. The price is \$11.

15,500 copies

About 15,500 copies have been

printed. Most are for use within the government. About 500 are allotted to the Documents Expediting Project in the Library of Congress for paid subscribers to what is called the CIA reference aid series, primarily libraries, embassies and businesses in and outside the United States. And 4,400 copies have been made available for public sale, mainly through the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

There are 190 nations or places in the Factbook starting with Afghanistan and extending to Zimbabwe, Taiwan and the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip. In between are the Bahamas, Niger, Nigeria, Gibraltar, Seychelles, Gambia, Saudi Arabia, North and South Korea, the two Germanys, France, Czechoslovakia, Soviet Union, Mexico, the United Kingdom, and so around the world.

The United States appears with this disclaimer: "The Factsheet on the U.S. is provided solely as a service to those wishing to make rough comparisons of foreign-country data with a U.S. yardstick. Information is from U.S. open sources and publications and in no sense represents estimates by the U.S. Intelligence Community."

Item by item

Heading each Factsheet, except that of the United States, is a small black-and-white map that positions the country geographically in relation to its neighbors. The scope, character and method of presenting data are indicated by this sampling on Poland:

Land: 312,612 kilometers, 49 percent arable, 27 percent forest, 14 percent other agricultural, 10 percent other.

Population: 36,887,000, average annual growth 0.9 percent. Religion: 95

percent Roman Catholic (about 75 percent practicing), 5 percent Uniate, Greek Orthodox, Protestant, other. Language: Polish, no significant dialects.

Organized labor: New government trade unions formed after dissolution of Solidarity and all other unions in October 1982.

Government: Official name Polish People's Republic. Type, communist state. Capital, Warsaw. Suffrage, universal and compulsory over age 18. Election, every four years. March 1984 election postponed. Communists, 2.4 million (1983).

Speedy comparison

Economy: gross national product, \$186.8 billion in 1982; \$5,160 per capita. 1982 growth rate, 4.8 percent. Major industries: Machine building, iron and steel, extractive, chemicals, shipbuilding and food processing.

Agriculture: Self-sufficient for minimum requirements. Main crops — grains, sugar beets, oilseed, potatoes, exporter of livestock products and sugar; importer of grains.

Exports: \$15.6 billion (f.o.b. 1982), 57.7 percent machinery and equipment, 26.2 percent fuels, raw materials, semi-manufactures, and so on.

Major trade partners: 1982 — 65 percent with Communist countries

Military manpower: Males (15-49) 9,320,000; fit for service 7,402,000.

Military budget: 201.5 billion zlotys, 7.6 percent of total budget.

At the end of the Factbook is a table on how to convert acres into hectares, liquid pints into liters, yards into meters, etc.

Yes, it's a useful book — a guide to the geography, economics and politics of nations, item by item, for speedy comparison.

UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL
17 April 1983

WASHINGTON

MARTY MILLER VS THE MAPMAKERS

BY JIM ANDERSON

One determined man can make a difference.

Take Martin Miller of Silver Spring, Md., a retired Treasury Department official who moved the State Department and the Central Intelligence Agency to change their maps of the Middle East to conform with U.S. policy.

It took about a year of determination, dozens of telephone calls and scores of letters.

But Miller won in the end. The State Department issued new policy guidance that eventually will change the way all U.S. government maps and documents deal with the Kingdom of Jordan and the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

As a symbol of his victory, Miller points to the first copy of a State Department map, printed in the latest monthly "Bulletin," that shows the West Bank and Gaza are not part of Jordan and their "status is to be determined."

Until now, State Department maps and the annual National Basic Intelligence Factbook put out by the CIA routinely included the occupied areas as part of Jordan. The Factbook called the occupied areas West Jordan, which is not a term used by the United States, or the Kingdom of Jordan.

The areas, which had been administered by Jordan since 1949, were seized and occupied by Israel in the Six-Day war in June 1967.

By acceding at a 1974 Arab League meeting in Rabat to the Palestine Liberation Organization taking over as sole representative of the Palestinians, King Hussein of Jordan gave up any claim to the areas.

The 1978 Camp David summit decided that the boundaries of the area would be settled by negotiation and there was no suggestion that the occupied areas were part of Jordan.

The office of the State Department's Geographer, which sets the political guidelines for all U.S. government maps, did not get the word. It continued to put out maps that showed the occupied territories as part of Jordan and included their 5,439 square kilometers in Jordan's total territory. The CIA and the Defense Department followed in lock-step behind the State Department.

Then along came Miller.

He wrote his first letter Nov. 4, 1981 and got the usual treatment from the State Department: vaguely worded letters that ignored his questions. When he got his congressman, Michael Barnes, D-Md., to help, Barnes also received polite, non-responsive letters from the State Department.

Writing to Barnes in July, Powell Moore, assistant secretary of state for congressional relations, said the depiction of boundaries on government maps "does not necessarily reflect the U.S. legal position."

CONTINUED

But Moore promised every effort to make new editions "accurately reflect U.S. policy" in the Middle East.

Nothing happened until November when Miller got a copy of a letter that Lewis Alexander, director of the Office of the Geographer in the State Department, sent to 10 government agencies dealing with foreign countries.

It issued new guidelines directing that the West Bank and Gaza Strip should be shown to be different from Jordan.

Dale Peterson, a spokesman for the CIA, said that this year's Factbook will be changed to follow those guidelines.

Score one for Marty Miller.

Alexander said his office was moving in the direction of changing the maps anyway, but he conceded, "We were certainly prodded by Mr. Miller to do it sooner than we might have otherwise."

And why did Miller bother over such an arcane exercise?

"The State Department can take credit for misinforming a generation of Americans about the status of an area which has been vital to U.S. foreign policy," Miller said.

In addition, Miller said, it is unfair to label Israel as a transgressor on Jordanian territory when Israel is the recognized administrative power over an area whose ultimate status is to be determined by negotiation.

The geographical truth-in-labeling has spread to other parts of the globe. State Department maps now note that the U.S. government does not recognize the Soviet claim that the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania are part of the Soviet Union.

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NEWSDAY

7 JULY 1977

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 17

The U.S. Intelligence How Well Does

"I told my people that I wanted to know about something before it happened. When I did, not it meant we were not doing our job, that it was an intelligence gap."

—William Colby, former director of the CIA

This is the first of two articles on the U.S. intelligence community.

By Martin Schram and Jim Klurfeld

Newsday Washington Bureau

Washington—Top policy officials in the Carter administration say they are dissatisfied with the caliber of information analysis provided by the U.S. intelligence community.

Those officials, including White House National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, believe that the material reaching their desks often is not well analyzed and at times has failed to alert them to major developments in the world. Their concerns were made clear during a series of Newsday interviews with leading policy makers and their assistants, current and former intelligence officials, and intelligence experts on Capitol Hill.

"The United States does seem to have a particular fascination with technology and gadgets," Brzezinski said. "I would say that the American information-gathering techniques are the best in the world—the equipment is absolutely remarkable. But it is the analysis of the information that is so important. And I think there is not enough attention given to the ability to say what all the information that is collected means."

Secretary of State Vance also is known to feel that there is a problem. Vance says there is too much information and there is a need to decide on priorities and then to do a better job on the priority matters.

Officials of the Carter White House say they were not able to obtain timely or adequate intelligence analyses on such matters of international significance as the recent invasion of Zaire, the removal of Soviet President Nikolai V. Podgorny, and the strength of the conservative Likud Party in the Israeli election campaign, forecasting the possibility of a new hard-line era in Israeli leadership.

And the complain administration. Similar officials of the Ford administration concerning Cyprus, Portugal. One of the most public officials was Richard L. nationally televised recently that the intelligence and Defense Department provided poor information failed to predict the War in the Mideast.

"I was not surprised the ball," Nixon said war. "I thought basic community needed a shake."

In a series of intelligence experts of the problem.

- There is too much information and not enough what it means.

- The fragmented intelligence community information from reaching usable form.

- Intelligence agencies

decision-makers expect of them, in part because the decision-makers do not ask the right questions and make the right requests of the agencies.

- At times decision-makers receive good intelligence but disregard it for their own reasons of policy and/or politics.

Rep. Otis Pike (D-Riverhead), whose House Committee on Intelligence first publicly raised the question of the quality of intelligence, defined the problem this way: "The real question is: Are we getting timely knowledge in the proper fashion? Are the cost and the risk justified by the end product?"

About 80 per cent of the U.S. intelligence budget is spent on military affairs, according to an informed source. But now decision-makers are saying there must be greater emphasis in the intelligence community on political analysis. "They hate like hell to predict the future," one Carter national security

continued

ARTICLE APPEARED
ON PAGE 1**Crude Estimate****Strength in Oil Prices
Isn't Likely to Last,
Many Analysts Think****Recent Rises Don't Reflect
Much Gain in Demand;
Barter Distorts Supplies****What the CIA Was Told**By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM
And ALLANNA SULLIVAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

When last January's meeting of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries broke up in disarray, conventional wisdom in the international oil fraternity was that prices were heading for a slide.

Since then OPEC has surprised skeptics by seeming to enforce at least partial production discipline. Oil companies have drawn down inventories sharply, suggesting they must soon increase their purchases. And prices have gone up some 15% instead of down.

The conventional wisdom today: Prices are still heading for a slide. "The bleeding has stopped, but the patient hasn't recovered," says Lawrence Goldstein, the executive vice president of the New York-based Petroleum Industry Research Foundation.

Analysts and industry officials say the pressures that have pushed free-market prices for such bellwether crude oils as West Texas Intermediate to \$29.60 a barrel yesterday from a low of \$25.20 in January are only temporary. Says one forecast, produced by the Wall Street firm of Salomon Brothers Inc.: "We now see factors developing that are setting the stage for the next downturn."

Advantages for Many

If so, that is for the most part good news for the U.S. and other industrialized nations. Oil-price moderation has been a major restraint on inflation and interest rates, and more price weakness could help stretch out a slowing U.S. recovery, economists say.

Softening oil prices would also be good news for the strained international banking system and for big Third World debtors that still import substantial quantities of oil. For debtors that export oil, such as Mexico and Nigeria, the price news isn't good, but the interest-rate implications are.

Among the factors leading Salomon and others to expect lower prices are sluggish world oil demand, large amounts of bartered oil on the market, continued skepticism about whether OPEC members will stay within their production quotas, continuing increases in non-OPEC production, and the slowing rate of economic growth in the U.S.

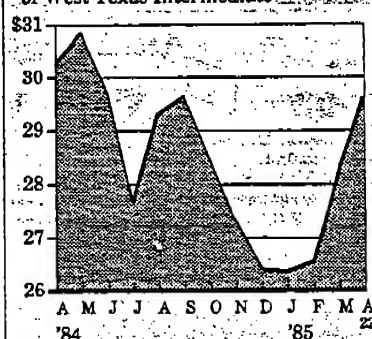
But if the outlook is that grim, how come prices are up, not down?

Russian Supplies

One answer is that the balance of supply and demand, if not as strong as producers might like, is much better than was expected a few months ago when OPEC seemed near collapse. "OPEC managed to keep prices from sliding over the cliff this winter," notes Robert Dederick, vice president and chief economist for Northern Trust Co. in Chicago.

OPEC had help.

A big drop in the delivery of Russian crude oil and refined oil products to Western Europe, induced by domestic shortages

Trend in Oil PricesMonth-end spot price per barrel
of West Texas Intermediate

and rough weather, cut supplies on the market for much of the winter. Last year, the Russians shipped member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development as much as 2.3 million barrels a day of oil and products, according to the Paris-based International Energy Agency. But in the 1985 first quarter, Russian supplies to OECD fell to 1.8 million barrels a day.

On the demand side, an 11-month coal miners' strike led Britain to consume an extra 500,000 barrels of oil a day this past quarter to generate electricity.

And, paradoxically, industry expectations of lower oil prices have supported the current price bubble, says Philip Verleger, a consultant with Charles River Associates Inc. in Cambridge, Mass. Such expectations have kept inventories "lean and mean," he says, noting that "the real tightness during recent weeks has been for promptly delivered oil."

Private Consultation

(The squeeze pushed up crude-oil futures prices yesterday, but many traders remained bearish for the longer term; see page 50. On page 6 is an article on prospects for increasing U.S. dependence on energy imports.)

Most market gurus don't think the strength in crude-oil prices can last. "We won't have a collapse overnight, but fundamentals say it would be hard to prevent an erosion over the course of the next year or two," says Adam Sieminski, an energy specialist at Washington Analysis Corp., a consulting firm in the capital.

That was also the consensus at a by-invitation-only meeting on the oil outlook sponsored by the Central Intelligence Agency two weeks ago. A panel of 14 experts from industry, Wall Street and think tanks answered questions from CIA and other government-agency analysts at the closed meeting.

Although opinions on the panel varied, the majority held that prices will decline during the next two to three years to \$23 to \$25 a barrel, before starting to gather strength by the 1990s. For the near-term, prices may remain firm until the summer, although there will be day-to-day fluctuations, panelists generally believed.

One reason for expectations of longer-term decline is that recent price increases don't seem to reflect a recovery in worldwide demand. The International Energy Agency estimated in its end-of-March monthly oil-market report that oil consumption in OECD nations was 2.3% lower in the 1984 fourth quarter than a year earlier. It was probably down about 2% in the first quarter also, the IEA said.

Several industry officials and large international traders also expect OPEC members to exceed their production quotas as the lure of larger oil income becomes irresistible.

Oil traders also say they are seeing an increase in exchanges of oil for other goods. As a major Houston-based trader notes, "Every barrel of bartered oil that works its way into the market ends by backing out some other oil."

Over the past few weeks, a considerable number of barter arrangements have been signed by Iran, Iraq, Libya and Algeria. Saudi Arabia is currently negotiating a giant swap with France to get 46 Mirage-2000 jets for \$2 billion of oil, or the equivalent of 70,000 barrels a day over three years. Although the Saudis have issued a vague denial of some aspects of the deal, they confirm that oil is under consideration as a method of payment for Mirages.

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CHARLOTTE OBSERVER (N.C.)

4 October 1978

Even ERA Can't Kill Agencies' Sex Bias, Report Says

By AARON EPSTEIN
Observer Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — There are no female agents in the U.S. Border Patrol. The tax code penalizes working wives by forcing families with two wage-earners to pay more taxes.

The Social Security, Civil Service and welfare systems discriminate against women. The Farmers Home Administration regards women as "one more of their husbands' assets." But a farmer's wife is liable for repaying a loan, even if she gets no benefit from it.

These are only a few instances of sex discrimination in federal agencies cited Tuesday in a Justice Department task force report.

The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) would not solve most problems, said Ms. Stewart Oneglia, task force director. Hundreds of changes in laws and regulations are required, she said.

(The Senate, opening debate Tuesday on a House-passed bill to extend the ERA ratification deadline, rejected a proposal to let state legislatures withdraw approval of the measure.)

Drew Days, assistant attorney general in charge of the civil rights division, said the task force dealt with 63 agencies, and has "raised consciousness" including his. He confessed he had inserted sexist language into the Federal Register.

"I had made it clear that my deputies for all time would have to be males," Days said. "My two deputies happen to be males, but that does not always have to be the case."

The task force was created by the Ford administration and activated by the Carter administration to make the government a model for nondiscriminatory treatment of women.

The task force recommended three changes:

- President Carter should prohibit sex discrimi-

nation in federally assisted programs.

- Congress should extend Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prohibit sex discrimination. That section forbids other kinds of discrimination in programs using federal funds.

- The Justice Department should have authority to coordinate enforcement of bans on sex discrimination.

Ms. Oneglia singled out the departments of Agriculture and Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) as among the worst offenders.

"We found that any time a system was set up where it had benefits and it had burdens, it was going to burden the women and benefit the men," she observed.

"Because who were the women? The women were poor. They were old. They had custody of children. They had the worst jobs. They got the worst pay."

They got fewer promotions. When they got old, they got the least money."

The "marriage penalty" in the tax laws "discourages the wives in lower and middle income families from seeking employment and thus perpetuates the stereotypical view of women as homemakers," the report said.

In the Justice Department, in addition to the Border Patrol, Ms. Oneglia said the FBI has a bias against women agents, but is improving.

A pamphlet describing CIA clerical jobs was described by the task force as "more like an abbreviated edition of Vogue magazine than a government recruiting brochure."

The pamphlet showed only women, the report said, "while not discussing other more lucrative forms of professional employment for women... or even hinting that men may also become CIA secretaries."



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1 April 1986

Mr. David R. Gergen
Editor
U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT
2400 N Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037-1196

Dear Dave:

On page 75 of the 7 April edition of U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, you tell your readers:

"Intelligence reports. The CIA makes some unclassified publications available. Included are studies of most countries--from Albania to Zimbabwe. Particularly popular are maps of places such as Afghanistan, Central America and Lebanon. For a free catalog, send a postcard to: CIA Public Affairs Office, Washington, D.C. 20505."

Your information is incorrect. CIA does not provide studies or maps directly to the public. The information CIA makes available to the public can be obtained only through one of the following outlets:

NATIONAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION SERVICE (NTIS)
U. S. Department of Commerce
5285 Port Royal Road
Springfield, Virginia 22161
or call: NTIS Order Desk: (703) 487-4650
(Use NTIS document number (PB number) when ordering)

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE (GPO)
Washington, D. C. 20402
or call: (202) 783-3238
(Use GPO stock order number when ordering)

WASHINGTON TIMES
31 May 1984

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Raising the stakes in the Persian Gulf

Ronald Reagan speaks reassuringly about the situation in the Persian Gulf, where both Iraq and Iran have been attacking oil tankers carrying crude oil bound for western markets. "We have not volunteered to intervene," Reagan said at his press conference the other night, "nor have we been asked." The laid-back quality of Reagan's reaction is understandable when one considers the sources of our oil imports. In February, which was before the attacks on the tankers began, the leading oil importers to the United States were Mexico (1), Canada (2), Venezuela (3), the Virgin Islands (4) and Algeria (5). Our net import requirements stood at some 28 percent. Imports were up over a year ago by some 32 percent, but the 716,000 barrels of oil per day we have been getting from the Persian Gulf represents only 5 percent of total U.S. needs and 14 percent of our total oil imports.

Such statistics are comforting, but only up to a point. Reagan is right to de-emphasize the military dangers to the United States in the Persian Gulf flare-up, but we live in a world in which the price of energy is set in places like the Rotterdam spot market, over which we have no control. With the energy component in production rising in cost, President Reagan's hope to keep the inflation rate down could easily go glimmering.

Moreover, we live in a world of allies — Japan and Western Europe — to whom we have promised support from our own oil reserves if the Middle East is closed off. Japan and Western Europe need 7 million barrels of oil a day (2.9 million for Japan, 4.3 million for Western Europe) from Middle East spigots. If, in extremity, we were called upon to keep our allies going from our own sources, our motorists would once again be paying through the nose at the local gas pump.

The insurance rates on tankers sent into the Persian Gulf have tripled in the past few weeks, adding from 20 to 50 cents to the spot price of oil, which now stands at \$30.50 for a barrel. This is not a forbidding increase, but if there were to be total disruption of the Middle East, oil prices would rise by \$5 to \$10 a barrel. This would strike at the heart of the world economic recovery.

CIA figures bearing on probable reaction to a Persian Gulf cutoff are partially comforting. The producing nations outside of the Persian Gulf area have the capacity to increase daily production by some 3.5 million barrels a day. An additional million barrels a day could be

channeled through a Saudi Arabian pipeline to the Red Sea. Iraq has been exporting oil through a pipeline running north through Turkey. But there would still be a shortfall of 3.5 million barrels a day to be accounted for out of the 8 million Middle East dependency figure.

From the long-term point of view, crises such as the one posed by the current turn of the Iraq-Iran war work to break down the OPEC oil monopoly. Mexico and Canada benefit at the expense of the Middle East. But the United States, though it has had plenty of forewarning, has lagged woefully in preparing for possible renewed international oil stringency.

Congress has been monumentally stupid in its refusal to pass a

natural gas deregulation bill that would spark a renewed search for gas resources and so cut down on our dependence on oil imports. Our legislators have also been all too negligent about such things as offshore oil leasing. The practice of tacking moratoriums on development operations to appropriations bills is pernicious in the cumulative

roadblocks that are put in the way of adding to our known oil reserves. Currently some \$3 million acres are locked up by congressional moratoriums.

Maybe, now that the Ayatollah Khomeini is treading on our toes, Congress will begin to wake up. But don't bet on it — as Goethe or someone said, the gods themselves contend with stupidity in vain.

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ON PAGE A-3

NEW YORK TIMES
16 JULY 1981

Weinberger Hopes to Publicize Soviet Missile Data

By RICHARD HALLORAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 15 — With the Soviet Union apparently deploying its new medium-range SS-20 nuclear missiles at a rapid pace, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger has become involved in a dispute with intelligence agencies over publicizing evidence of the deployment, according to Administration officials.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. asserted in a speech in New York yesterday that the Soviet Union already had 750 nuclear warheads deployed on the SS-20's, which was considerably more than previously known, and said that "the pace of the Soviet buildup is increasing."

The Administration officials here said that the Soviet Union had deployed 235 to 250 missile launchers, which supported Mr. Haig's statement since each missile can carry three warheads. Two-thirds of the launchers are aimed at Western Europe and a third at China or other targets in Asia, the officials said. Japanese officials noted today, according to press reports from Tokyo, that SS-20's could reach any target in Japan.

Deployment Possibly Greater

Mr. Haig and Administration officials may have understated the deployment. Sources with access to intelligence reports said that each launcher might be armed with three or four missiles. They said, however, that the intelligence on that was uncertain.

In any event, Mr. Weinberger has been anxious, the officials said, to make

public photographs and maps of the SS-20 deployments in an effort to generate support here and especially in Western Europe for a United States plan to counter them.

That plan calls for deploying Pershing 2 ballistic missiles and Tomahawk cruise missiles in Western Europe, beginning in 1983. Britain, West Germany, and Italy have agreed to have them on their soil, despite political opposition, but other nations have refused.

The officials said, however, that the Defense Intelligence Agency and the Central Intelligence Agency had adamantly refused to permit any publication of the evidence. The officials said that the intelligence agencies feared disclosure of their methods and the quality of their information.

Weinberger Briefed Europeans

The idea of publicizing the evidence arose last April, after Mr. Weinberger had sponsored what was said to have been a vivid and successful briefing on the Soviet threat to European defense ministers in Bonn. Mr. Weinberger repeated the briefing a month later in Brussels.

In both cases, the European ministers emerged from the briefing to exclaim on the precision and breadth of the briefing and let it be known that they had asked Mr. Weinberger to make public as much information as possible so that they could persuade their own citizens of the extent of the threat.

Mr. Weinberger told American reporters at the time that he agreed with his European colleagues and would see what could be done. But he ran into immediate resistance, the officials said, with his own intelligence people and with the C.I.A., which is in charge of space satellite reconnaissance.

Memo for Intelligence Agency

After several months of talks, the officials said, Mr. Weinberger recently wrote a memorandum to the Defense Intelligence Agency, which is nominally under his control, asserting that they must prove to him why the evidence could not be publicized.

The officials said that the intelligence people were adamant in refusing be-

cause any revelation could give the Soviet Union information that would enable them to hide the missiles from United States satellites or other sensors.

It was the age-old conflict, said one senior official, between the desire of the policy-maker to use information to persuade skeptics to accept his course of action and the desire of intelligence officials to protect their ability to collect information.

Mr. Weinberger, the officials said, was groping for a middle road in which maps might be generalized and only the most obvious pictures used. But they said the intelligence agencies had dug in their heels even against that.

Three Versions of the SS-20

The SS-20 missile comes in three versions, according to a study done by the General Dynamics Corporation, a leading military contractor and builder of cruise missiles. One can carry a 1.5-megaton nuclear warhead for 3,500 miles while a second can carry three smaller warheads aimed at separate targets. A third can carry a 50-kiloton warhead 4,600 miles.

A kiloton is the equivalent of 1,00 tons of TNT. A megaton is the equivalent of a million tons. The atomic bomb that exploded over Hiroshima in 1945 was in the range of 12 to 15 kilotons.

The SS-20 is a two-stage, solid-fuel ballistic missile that can be launched from a tracked transporter.

At the beginning of 1980, the Soviet Union had deployed 100 missile launchers. That number grew to 160 by fall that year, according to intelligence sources. In January 1981, Harold Brown, in his final report to Congress as Secretary of Defense, said the number had grown to 180. Mr. Weinberger reported in April that 220 launchers had been deployed, with the number having moved up to 235 to 250 today.

Washington Whispers.

★ ★ ★

Troubles of the CIA have all but dried up an important source of the Agency's information—exchanges with intelligence services of U.S. allies. Word has been passed from abroad that there's little chance of renewal of a free flow of information until congressional investigations of the CIA have been completed.

The operating budget of the Senate committee investigating the CIA has zoomed from the original \$750,000 to nearly 1.2 million dollars. About 90 staff members are now at work, including a battery of experienced interrogators, plus a number of specialists with CIA or FBI experience.

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WASHINGTON TIMES
16 July 1985

Misinformation on disinformation

ARNOLD BEICHMAN

I recently read a review, published in a certain magazine to be identified later, of a book, *Dezinformatsia*, by two respected academics, Professor Richard H. Shultz Jr. of Tufts University's Fletcher School of Diplomacy and Roy Godson of Georgetown University. The review made the following serious charges against this book:

- The book was said to use "specious arguments to prove the obvious."
- It misrepresents reality to prove

a simplistic point.

• It is "misguided," exhibits a "total lack of understanding" about Clausewitz, shows "a superficial understanding of current history and the Soviet Union."

• It didn't "fairly report" the content of Soviet journals, it has treated the subject "irresponsibly," it suffers from "extraordinarily naive assumptions" and "erroneous history."

• And the book was said "ultimately" to serve "neither scholarship nor the national interest."

Such harsh language about the published work of academics can be

defined as a form of character assassination, since it questions their honor as teachers and researchers. For my part, to be even harsher, I would say that this review could, with little editing, have appeared in a Soviet publication.

Now, then, would you like to guess in what left-wing, pro-Soviet, progressive journal this book review appeared? If you're very smart and sophisticated, you might try and guess, but you'd be wrong. I'll have to tell you:

This book review appeared in an official magazine of the government

of the United States, a magazine published by the Central Intelligence Agency — yes, by the CIA under the supervision of the Deputy Directorate for Intelligence that is responsible for all CIA analyses of world affairs.

The publication, a quarterly called *Studies in Intelligence*, is an "in-house" publication. It is not distributed publicly since some articles are classified; others, such as the book review I am discussing, are unclassified. The essay-review, in the magazine's winter 1984 issue, was written by Avis Boutell, a CIA analyst, who works for the Foreign Broadcast Information Service.

When I read the Shultz-Godson book some months ago to prepare my own favorable review, I found it a cool, scholarly examination of Soviet propaganda and disinformation strategies. So did a number of other distinguished Sovietologists and publicists, such as Professors Adam Ulam and Uri Ra'anani, Dr. Robert Conquest, and Professor Sidney Hook, who wrote the laudatory introduction.

The book, now in its third edition, included what I regarded as highly informative interviews with defectors who had specialized, while in the service of the KGB in the U.S.S.R. and Czechoslovakia, in "active measures." The Soviet strategy of "active measures" involves, for the most part, covert disinformation as "a non-attributed or falsely attributed communication, written or oral, containing intentionally false, incomplete, or misleading information [frequently combined with true information], which seeks to deceive, misinform, and/or mislead the target," according to the Shultz-Godson definition.

In other words, the book describes a panoply of Soviet tactics

to manipulate the media in the democracies, the use of "agents of influence," sponsorship of clandestine radio broadcasts, and use of international front organizations. These strategies and tactics are excellently described in this important book.

Not only is *Studies in Intelligence* an official government magazine, but it also is published by a U.S. secret service. It therefore must be assumed that whatever is published therein represents the official view of the CIA or, at the very least, the point of view of CIA analysts. As an analogy, a Voice of America editorial, for example, must be approved by responsible State Department officials before it can be read on the air.

If the CIA book review reflects the political culture of the CIA and the world in which its analysts live, then some of the egregious errors about Soviet intentions made by the CIA over the past 15 or more years, errors which have been publicly discussed in the press and by the two congressional committees on intelligence oversight, become understandable.

One could take apart, paragraph by paragraph, this CIA book review to demonstrate its use of the rhetoric of overkill.

Here I want merely to deal with the political approach of a CIA analyst whose views, no matter what the CIA might say, seem to harmonize with the agency's ethos, which I pray is not that of William J. Casey, CIA director. That this review got past Mr. Casey, I can understand; he has more important problems to deal with. But isn't there somebody in his organization who has the wit, understanding, and common decency to realize that the language used to discuss the Shultz-Godson book might be better suited to a review of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*?

Take this sneering, reductive sen-

God and Man at

How Does an Intelligence Agent Reconcile L Religion? The CIA Has Thought a Lot About It, and Has Concluded That the Bible and God Are on Their Side.

By Dale Van Atta

After the cornerstone of the Central Intelligence Agency's headquarters in Langley, Virginia, had been laid in 1959, CIA Director Allen Dulles cast about for a suitable inscription. What message, he wondered, would be most apropos to grace the foyer of this \$46 million monument to spying? Eventually Dulles settled on the Biblical quotation now carved in marble on one side of the entrance hall: "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free. John VIII-XXXII."

Ironical words, given that the CIA is the one American institution whose mission often demands distortion of the truth. The agency plants misinformation in newspapers, magazines, and books throughout the world; routinely its agents misrepresent themselves to gather the informational gold that is the currency of espionage; it once encouraged its employees to lie to Congress; and it has enshrined slippery former director Richard Helms as the CIA soldier most worthy of emulation. That so many CIA employees miss the irony of the Biblical inscription is testimony to the capacity of human beings to disregard a moral code when they're in the service of a cause or of a state.

Most CIA employee recruits hear the "basic speech," during which instructors, describing espionage as a worthy calling, proclaim that to be patriots they must work in silence and without acclaim. The speech calls spying the world's second-oldest profession ("and just as honorable as the first"), adding that God Himself founded the calling when Moses sent leaders of the twelve tribes to "spy out the land of Canaan."

In a less well-known reference, CIA officials like to note that America may owe her existence to the covert action of Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumar-

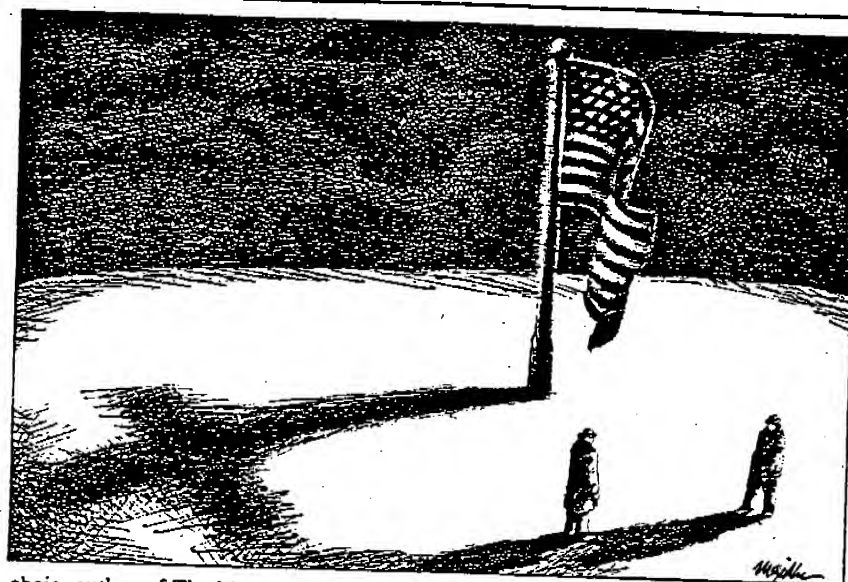


ILLUSTRATION BY MICHAEL GIER

chais, author of *The Marriage of Figaro* and *The Barber of Seville*.

It was Beaumarchais who persuaded a reluctant King Louis XVI to aid the American Revolution by making it appear that the French funding came from private citizen Beaumarchais, not from the French government. In a persuasive letter to the king, which is in the CIA's Historical Intelligence Collection, the dramatist presented the moral case for covert action:

"Generally speaking there is no doubt that any idea or project that violates justice must be rejected by a man of integrity. But, Sir, State policy is not the same as private morality. . . .

"If men were angels, we ought no doubt to despise or even detest politics. But if men were angels, they would have no need for religion to enlighten them, or laws to govern them, or soldiers to subdue them, and the earth, instead of being a living image of hell, would itself be a region of heaven. But in the end we must take them as they are, and a just among the wicked and to remain

good among the wolves would soon be devoured along with his flock."

The Frenchman's point that covert action—and intelligence itself—is a "necessary evil" is further emphasized by CIA instructors who eulogize one of his American contemporaries, Nathan Hale, the Revolutionary War hero who, posing as a Dutch schoolteacher behind British lines, was captured and hanged for spying. His statue stands outside CIA headquarters today, and his words have been so inspirational to some agents that one former senior official carried this Hale speech in his wallet: "I wish to be useful, and every kind of service, necessary to the public good, becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious."

From Hale's day until the founding of the CIA in 1947, this country had resisted establishing a full-time intelligence organization. Pearl Harbor and World War II, however, overcame America's reluctance. Though public approval of the CIA has never been whole-

LtCol Robert Mattingly Wins Heint Award

Results of the third annual Colonel Robert D. Heint, Jr., Award in Marine Corps History were announced on 5 April at a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Marine Corps Historical Foundation.

This year's prize, \$1,000 and a plaque, was awarded to LtCol Robert E. Mattingly for "Who Knew Not Fear," an article that appeared in *Studies in Intelligence*, a quarterly publication of the CIA. The article recounted the World War II exploits of a Marine OSS officer, Peter Ortiz, who operated in North Africa and France behind German lines during World War II. Mattingly's article was chosen by a panel of three judges—BGen F.P. Henderson, USMC(Ret), Col Allan R. Millett, USMCR, and

Mr. J. Robert Moskin—as "the best article pertinent to Marine Corps history" published in 1982. LtCol Mattingly is an intelligence officer stationed in the Washington area. A frequent contributor to the GAZETTE, his latest GAZETTE article and book review appeared in the Mar83 issue.

In addition to picking this year's winner, the Historical Foundation selected 2 of the 33 articles nominated for the Heint Award for honorable mention. Capt R.S. Moore's "Ideas and Direction: Building Marine Corps Amphibious Doctrine" and the late BGen R.H. Williams' "Those Controversial Boards," both from the Nov82 GAZETTE, were singled out for this distinction. As announced in the Apr83 GAZETTE, p.12, Capt Moore recently was chosen also as the winner of the first MajGen Harold W. Chase Prize Essay Contest. This most recent example of his writing ability appears on p.61 of this issue.

In further recognition of noteworthy Marine-related historical writing, the Foundation presented a special award in the form of a plaque to *Leatherneck* magazine, commending Editor Ronald D. Lyons and the entire *Leatherneck* staff for the fine historical material that appears with regularity on its pages. BGen George L. Bartlett, executive director of the Marine Corps Association and publisher of *Leatherneck*, accepted the award at a luncheon following the meeting of the Historical Foundation's directors.

ARTICLE PREPARED
ON PAGE A-1

NEW YORK TIMES
20 MAY 1977

BROAD CARTER POLICY WILL RESTRICT SALES OF WEAPONS ABROAD

EXPORTS TO BE 'EXCEPTIONAL'

Burden Will Lie on Those Favoring
Deals, Which Must Clearly Abate
National Security Interests

By BERNARD WEINRAUB
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 19 — President Carter, citing the responsibilities borne by the United States as the world's largest arms dealer, announced broad measures today to restrict sales of weapons abroad.

They include a reduction in sales after this year, prohibitions on the development of advanced weapons systems solely for export and on an American role as the "first supplier" of advanced weapons to countries seeking "new or significantly higher combat capability," and the cessation of production agreements with other countries "for significant weapons."

The President said in a policy statement that "the United States will henceforth view arms transfers as an exceptional foreign policy implement, to be used only in instances where it can be clearly demonstrated that the transfer contributes to our national security interests." He added: "We will continue to utilize arms transfers to promote our security and the security of our close friends. But, in the future, the burden of persuasion will be on those who favor a particular arms sale, rather than those who oppose it."

'Historic Responsibilities'

The statement made it clear that the restrictions were applicable to all nations except those with which the United States has "major defense treaties," among them the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. It said the United States "will remain faithful to our treaty obligations, and will honor our historic responsibilities to assure the security of the state of Israel."

President Carter, who made his statement after a three-month study by the White House, the State Department, the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, said: "The virtually unrestrained spread of conventional weaponry threatens stability in every region of the world. Total arms sales in recent years have risen to over \$20 billion, and the United States accounts for more than one-half of this amount. Because we dominate the world market to such a degree, I believe that the United States can, and should, take the first step."

Shifting Burden of Persuasion

The White House said the United States would begin talks soon with the Soviet Union, Britain, France and West Germany, the other major suppliers, concerning a possible agreement on measures for multilateral action aimed at reducing sales.

How the new policy differs broadly from the programs of previous Administrations remains vague except in the President's stated commitment to shift the burden of persuasion to those who favor a sale rather than to those who oppose it.

Jessica Tuchman, who heads the office of "global issues" in the National Security

Council staff, said at a White House briefing that the policy would result in a substantial reduction in sales. She added that sales in the 1977 fiscal year were in the range of \$8.8 billion to \$10 billion.

Commercial sales of military equipment, estimated at \$3.5 billion, were placed under stricter licensing requirements but largely excluded from the new policy. Miss Tuchman said that those transactions generally did not include sophisticated equipment.

It was emphasized that weapons in the pipeline—estimated at \$32 billion—would not be affected, serving, Miss Tuchman said, as a "built-in cushion" for the arms industry. She said the White House believed the policy's overall impact on the economy would be minimal.

Israel Is Largely Excluded

Because of what was described as the special relationship with Israel, Miss Tuchman made it plain that the policy would largely exempt it. While the policy bars joint production agreements of significant weapons, for example, President Carter recently opened the possibility of an Israeli role in building the American F-16 fighter plane. There are joint production arrangements on the plane with four NATO nations—Denmark, Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The President's statement listed the following controls:

¶ "The dollar volume of new commitments for weapons and weapons-related items in FY 1978 will be reduced from the FY 1977 total."

¶ "The United States will not be the first supplier to introduce into a region newly developed, advanced weapons systems which would create a new or significantly higher combat capability."

¶ "Development or significant modification of advanced weapons systems solely for export will not be permitted."

¶ "Coproduction agreements for significant weapons, equipment and major components are prohibited."

¶ "The United States, as a condition of sale for certain weapons, equipment

or major components, may stipulate that we will not entertain any requests for retransfers."

¶ "Embassies and military representatives 'will not promote the sale of arms,' and weapons dealers and agents in the United States will work under tighter restrictions, with the State Department authorizing all sales."

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NEW YORK TIMES
13 FEBRUARY 1983

Set Up a Special, High-Level Agency

By JAKE GARN

TRADE with the Soviet Union is in our national interest. In addition to increased jobs and enhanced earnings to be reinvested in research and development, trade ties with the Soviet bloc countries can have an important, though limited, effect toward moderating Soviet behavior.

It seems clear that one of the factors that has thus far prevented the Soviet Union from invading Poland has been a fear of disrupting trade relations with the West.

This assertion can be exaggerated, however, and often has been. But it is undeniable that American trade leverage over the Soviet Union has greatly decreased. In fact, recent history has shown the West to be more economically vulnerable to the Soviet Union than it seems to be to us. This has not been the result of the inherent nature of trade with the East, but rather of our failure to organize adequately to insure that such trade is mutually beneficial.

In the spring of 1982, the American intelligence community issued a report evaluating the effects of the last 10 years, concluding in part that "the Western military expenditures needed to overcome or defend against the military capabilities derived by the acquisition of Western technology far outweigh the West's earnings from the legal sales to the Soviets of its equipment and technology." Fred C. Ikle, Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, has indicated that the price tag for this failure could be tens of billions of dollars, if not much more.

American trade with the Soviet bloc is foundering upon the recognition of the cost of East-West trade coupled with the institutional inability to respond adequately to these costs. Important national interests are at stake, and if the United States is unable to afford ever-increasing defense costs — and that is clearly the case — then a much more effective export control system will be needed.

Currently, the administration of export controls is far removed from the policy-making levels of Government. So instead of a flexible organization able to respond quickly to national needs, we have a system that required American exporters to make 76,677 export license applications in fiscal year 1982, with 98.8 percent eventually being granted. With nearly every application approved, how many of those were in fact unnecessary?

At the same time, one wonders where our export control efforts have been directed when we receive intelligence reports listing the advances in computer, laser, electronics, antisubmarine warfare, advanced avionics, and many other critical technologies that the Soviets have obtained from Western sources.

Since 1948, several Congressional committees have exposed the inadequacies of our export control system, administered by low-level officials. The criticism has come to a head with recent reports from the General Accounting Office and the Commerce Department's inspector general, that export administration has remained largely unchanged over the past three decades.

With the current Export Administration Act expiring this year, the Senate Banking Committee is currently considering a proposal that 17 of my colleagues and I put forward to elevate the priority given to export administration. Our proposal would place it in a highly visible, independent Federal agency that would have the administration of our export control laws as its sole responsibility.

This agency would be named the Office of Strategic Trade. Its director would be a member of the National Security Council, where he could insure that attention at the highest levels of Government was being devoted to our export control strategy. We believe that the presence of a governmental official with high stature and with day-to-day involvement in export administration would go a long way toward insuring that export control policies accorded with the realities of the international trading environment, and that the mistakes in the recent controls against the Soviet pipeline would not be repeated.

THE intelligence community report made the following conclusion: "The massive, well-planned and well-coordinated Soviet program to acquire Western technology through combined legal and illegal means poses a serious and growing threat to the mutual security interests of the United States and its allies. In response, the West will need to organize more effectively than it has in the past to protect its military, industrial, commercial and scientific communities."

Our NATO allies will not improve their export control operations until we get our system operating as it should. When we can offer them a system whereby East-West trade can be increased, while the control of critical technologies is enhanced, we will find them very ready to cooperate.

With an effective, high-priority agency in place, such as the Office of Strategic Trade, we can reduce the fears of giving critical advantages to the Soviet Union. We will thereby have removed a major obstacle to our trade and be in a position to expand trade with the Soviet bloc, insuring that such trade is beneficial to American interests.

Senator Jake Garn, Republican of Utah, is chairman of the Senate Banking Committee.

WASHINGTON TIMES
15 October 1985

Diverse 'Euroterrorists' united in 'global assault' against West

By Ted Agres
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Terrorist groups in Western Europe, including some with diverse political objectives, are cooperating in a new phase of bombings and killings directed against the United States, NATO and Western industrial targets, according to intelligence reports and security analysts.

The effort appears to be part of a larger, coordinated plan to "expel" U.S. interests — both military and political — from key areas of the world, the sources warn.

The new "Euroterrorists," according to these sources, also are aiming

to destabilize the Atlantic alliance, stir anti-U.S. sentiments and weaken Europe's defense industries.

And while many European terrorist communiques have stated that their enemy is "Western imperialist targets," this in effect means "U.S. imperialism," several experts said.

Earlier this year two principal terrorist organizations — West Germany's Red Army Faction and France's Direct Action — issued a statement saying that they were creating a joint "political-military front."

The RAF, an outgrowth of the outlawed Baader-Meinhof gang, and Direct Action took responsibility for

detonating a car bomb in August that killed two Americans and injured 20 others at the U.S. Rhein-Main Air Force Base in Frankfurt. The terrorists apparently also had murdered a U.S. soldier in West Germany to obtain his identity papers to smuggle the bomb onto the heavily-guarded base.

The following month three mobile radar units at a U.S. air base in southern West Germany were destroyed by bombs. Security officials blamed the RAF for the attack. The RAF and Direct Action have both used explosives stolen from Belgium.

Both groups are believed to have strong ties to another terrorist group in Belgium called the Fighting Communist Cells. That group has staged a series of bomb-

ings against NATO installations beginning in 1984. This three-way linkage has security experts convinced that the Euroterrorists have embarked on a new strategy of transnational coordination and cooperation.

"Their alliance is one of necessity," said Dr. Avigdor Haselkorn, a senior analyst at Analytical Assessments Corp. in Los Angeles. "It is a question of tactics, covert activities rather than ideological linkage."

Robert Kupperman, a terrorism expert at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, added: "All of this business is intended to introduce increased uncertainties within NATO. None of these groups is large enough or capable of causing immense physical injuries. The purpose is destabilization."

Earlier this year, Rene Audran, director of international arms sales at the French Defense Ministry, was shot and killed outside his home near Paris. A week later, Ernst Zimmermann, an executive with a German engineering firm that manufactures engines for NATO tanks and aircraft, was assassinated in Munich.

While Direct Action claimed responsibility for the two attacks, officials believe that members of the RAF carried out the killings, with Direct Action providing logistical support.

The attacks — large and small — are showing no signs of letting up.

Western analysts and officials point to the recent spate of bombings in West Germany, France and Belgium as indications that the terrorists are continuing to target industrial, political and NATO facilities.

Last week in Brussels, for example, a car bomb went off in front of the headquarters of the Brussels gas and electricity company, shattering all of the building's windows. The Fighting Communist Cells claimed responsibility for the attack and for 15 previous bombings in Belgium.

Over the weekend another blast went off outside the headquarters of the steel company. An anonymous caller told police the Fighting Communist Cells were responsible, but

authorities said it could have been a "copy cat" attack perpetrated by others.

In the past two weeks West Germany also has been hit with a spate of fire bombs. Six large department stores in Hamburg were hit, as was a car dealership and a botanical research institute in Cologne.

A group calling itself the Revolutionary Cells, believed tied to the RAF, took responsibility for the blasts in Cologne and indicated that its intended target was not the botanical research institute, but the Genetic Engineering Institute next door.

Analysts note that a Dutch manual for sabotage has been circulating in several West European countries. Recommending "direct action" against some 270 agents and subsidiaries of U.S. firms in Europe, the manual draws attention to those companies involved in genetic research into seeds and crops, which it terms a capitalist plot against the Third World. It could not be immediately determined if the Genetic Engineering Institute in Cologne

was listed in the manual.

Terrorism experts here and abroad believe that the resurgence in Euroterrorism is due in part to the failure of the "peace movement" to halt NATO's deployment of U.S. Pershing and cruise missiles in Western Europe.

Many of the anti-nuclear activists, the experts say, have grown cynical and have been recruited by the more hardened terrorist groups into supporting — and participating in — direct attacks on military and political targets.

It is believed that some of the lower yield and incendiary bombings have been committed by these relatively new "recruits," perhaps as training exercises. The more lethal activities, such as the murder of the U.S. soldier and bombing at Rhein-Main AFB, are thought to have been carried out by hard-core terrorists.

Behind it all is a larger, sinister picture, some experts believe. "What we're seeing is just part of the forest," said Yonah Alexander, a terrorism analyst at Georgetown CSIS.

Euroterrorism "is a global assault against the West and its interests." It

The Washington Merry-Go-Round

IRA Using Soviet Anti-Copter Missiles

By Jack Anderson

The terrorist wing of the Irish Republican Army has been equipped, presumably by Arab guerrillas, with Russian shoulder-fired missiles for shooting down British helicopters. In addition, the Arabs are believed to have helped the IRA pepper London with bombs.

These two unhappy disclosures are made in a secret U. S. intelligence report obtained by Rep. John Murphy (D-N.Y.) and turned over to Chairman Harley Staggers (D-W.Va.) of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

The British helicopters in Northern Ireland, besides their advantages over ground vehicles for surveillance, have been used to transport troops rapidly from one trouble spot to the next. IRA gunfire, so far, has not been effective against them.

The Strella SA-7 missiles, however, have a range of almost three miles and can be aimed and fired in seconds. They "home" on the heat from jet motors or can be fired like ordinary weapons at prop-driven planes, helicopters or objects.

"Arab terrorists (are) loose in Europe and England" and are armed with the 30-pound rockets, said the intelligence report, developed by the CIA, and summarized and circulated to the FBI, Secret Service, Federal Aviation Administration and other sensitive agencies. The missiles, said the report, were "originally smuggled into Bel-

gium in Libyan diplomatic pouches.

"Libya has publicly stated its support of the IRA as a revolutionary movement," the report went on. "British intelligence has stated there is 'firm evidence' that Arab terrorists are working with the Irish Republican Army and are part of the bombing campaign which has plagued London in recent months.

"British officials have also received intelligence reports that the Russian-built SA-7 missiles are in the hands of the IRA in Northern Ireland," the document warned.

"Sources indicate they are for use against British helicopters along the border between Ireland and those counties under UK/ British control."

There is danger even if the missiles do not hit their target. They then zoom to seek out other jet planes, school chimneys or, indeed, any heat sources.

At Heathrow airport in London, as we reported on Feb. 10, the British army was put on alert for Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's visit because intelligence reports had indicated Arab fanatics planned to shoot a Strella up his plane's jetpipe.

OPINION

How can closed societies be opened up?

By Orrin G. Hatch

THE National Endowment for Democracy is undertaking an ambitious project: fostering the growth of democratic principles abroad. The endowment's congressionally funded mandate is especially challenging in communist countries where independent activity is systematically suppressed by the government. And yet, even the most skeptical critic would not argue that all communist societies are the same. Some systems are more open than others.

Different strategies will need to be used in different countries. For instance, in countries that are undergoing civil war, Soviet émigré Vladimir Bukovsky has pointed out that we should focus on supporting resistance movements directly. Moscow is at present safe from this option. On the other hand, in more stable closed societies the overall goal is to increase the level of "openness" and to foster independent public opinion. One important component of this process is Western recognition of independent writers, artists, scientists, etc.

The truth of the matter is that no one knows precisely what will work and what won't. On the whole, however, I am optimistic about the long-term prospects for fostering pluralism in communist countries. I recently sent a representative to a conference sponsored by the Andrei Sakharov Institute on this very subject. Some of the possibilities that were suggested at that conference include helping the families of political prisoners and facilitating a wide dissemination of information about communist countries — both inside communist countries and in the West. For instance, experts on the Soviet Union tell me that the average Soviet citizen does not even have a map of his own country! I understand that small-scale maps of the USSR are considered classified by the Kremlin. We need to do what we can to destroy the "cloak of secrecy" that hides information from citizens of communist countries.

Another suggestion that was raised at the Sakharov conference was that the United States should declassify as much information as possible about closed societies in order to defog the cloud of mystery. Of course, our national-security concerns come first. I believe this idea has merit, however, and should be further investigated. One candidate for possible declassification, in my view, is the excellent CIA weekly Trends in Communist Media, issues of which are now automatically declassified after six months.

I would also emphasize the importance of mail and telephone contacts between East and West. For instance, American children might initiate a "pen-pal project" with schoolchildren in China or the Soviet Union. In addition, the terms of future exchange programs should include an agreement that both parties will be able to communicate with each other via telephone and correspondence before, during, and after the exchange project. As a rule, Moscow allows only those people who will toe the party line to take part in exchange programs. For this reason, I advocate exchange programs of independent persons, including dissident writers, artists, and human rights activists.

Another way to help open up closed societies is to pay close attention to what Soviet government officials, journalists, and scholars are communicating to the Soviet public. For instance, Soviet children's magazines often focus on military themes. Military personnel are routinely pictured performing nonmilitary tasks such as helping elderly women, building houses, and planting trees. I have received one picture from a Soviet children's magazine depicting Army personnel building a house. This picture was forwarded to me by Mr. Arkady Polyshchuk, who is a graduate of Moscow University, a Soviet émigré, and an expert on this subject. I believe the Western world should object vociferously to the use of Soviet military propaganda for children by raising this issue at the United Nations and in other international forums.

One obstacle to opening up closed societies is that governments of most communist countries make a concerted effort to restrict contact between their citizens and Western tourists. For instance, there is a new Soviet law making it a crime to pass "official" information to foreigners. Of course, by Moscow's definition, even the price of meat could be defined as "official information." For this so-called crime, a Soviet citizen can be imprisoned for as long as three years.

According to Soviet experts, the Soviet leadership has been so successful at restricting and distorting the flow of information to the Soviet people that it has succeeded in convincing many Russian citizens that the United States is actively preparing for nuclear war! This illustrates the level of absurdity that pervades Moscow's internal disinformation campaign.

In the final analysis, there is one principle to follow in opening up closed societies: Encourage the free flow of information. This, in turn, will lead to the creation of independent thinking. And when independent-minded people band together for common goals, you have successfully planted the seeds for peaceful, democratic change.

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R) of Utah is a member of the Board of the National Endowment for Democracy.

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WASHINGTON STAR (GREEN LINE)
21 JULY 1977

CIA Involved In Probes of Nuclear Firm

Was 'Lost' Uranium Sold To Foreign Governments?

By John J. Fialka
Washington Star Staff Writer

The CIA has been involved in investigations concerning a company that experienced a still mysterious incident of missing nuclear materials in the early 1960s. At the time, the company had close ties with the atomic energy agencies of two foreign governments: Israel and Japan. According to congressional sources who are investigating the matter, the CIA became involved in the case shortly after Atomic Energy Commission investigators concluded they could find no apparent reason why 93 kilograms of highly enriched uranium — enough for about 20 small nuclear weapons — could not be accounted for on the company's records.

Officials of the Nuclear Regulatory Agency who received a briefing on the matter from the CIA in early 1976 were told that, although the matter did not involve a violation of U.S. nuclear safeguards, the matter still "involved great sensitivity."

Just what may be at the bottom of the layers of secrecy still surrounding the activities of the company, called the Nuclear Materials and Equipment Corp. (NUMEC), is still not clear, although there is increasing speculation that it may have been a vehicle for the transfer of bomb-grade nuclear materials to Israel.

Zalman M. Shapiro, who was NUMEC's founder and president between 1960 and 1966 when the losses occurred, has asserted that the speculation is "ridiculous" and that the highly enriched uranium was lost in the waste processes of the company plant involved, located at Apollo, Pa., 30 miles northeast of Pittsburgh. (Shapiro sold the company to the Atlantic Richfield Corp. in 1967.)

DURING THE early 1960s NUMEC had a subsidiary which was half owned by the Israel Atomic Energy Commission. The subsidiary was called Israel Isotopes and Radiation Enterprises Ltd. and, according to a NUMEC financial report to company stockholders, the subsidiary was involved in the irradiation of strawberries, sugar beets and potatoes as a way of preventing spoilage.

According to NRC files, NUMEC

which are weapons grade materials. A company financial report states that it was the "first privately financed U.S. corporation to engage in plutonium research, development and production of fuel elements."

Another of the company's projects during the early 1960s, according to the report, was drawing up the plant and equipment design blueprints for Japan's first plutonium fuel laboratory at Tokai-Mura, Japan. Japan and the U.S. are now negotiating a serious dispute over whether Japan can separate the plutonium in spent U.S. nuclear fuel at the expanded Tokai-Mura complex without violating U.S. safeguards controlling the disposition of the fuel.

WHEN THE AEC disclosed the problem of the missing material at Apollo, at least four investigations were made of the incident — by the CIA, the FBI, the Government Accounting Office and the AEC.

The only public report of the investigation, the one made by the GAO, concluded that the company's records were in such poor condition that no estimate could be made as to when the losses occurred. "We found no evidence of diversion," the report states.

Ten years after the incident, in 1975 when the NRC took over the regulatory activities of the AEC, a

young NRC investigator, James H. Conran, was assigned to develop a history of the incident. Although Conran had a security clearance, he discovered that the other half of the old AEC, the Energy Research and Development Administration, considered some of NUMEC files to be "top secret." He was denied access to them.

According to Capitol Hill sources attempting to unravel the matter, Conran began pressing his boss, Carl Builder, then head of NRC's division of safeguards, to get access to the material. When Builder refused, Conran took his case to several of the NRC's commissioners.

FINALLY, in early 1976, the NRC requested a briefing on the Apollo matter, and the commissioners, Builder and several other high NRC officials attended a meeting with officials of ERDA and the CIA, who were familiar with the case. After the briefing, the NRC decided to drop all further research into the case.

One NRC staff member prepared a memo of a conversation with Builder afterwards. The memo states, "Builder felt the matter involved great sensitivity and that the responsible people were fully informed."

It was also Builder's judgment that the NRC staff had this information that it would not change their perceptions of the safeguards problem. Builder

Builder, who has since left the NRC and now works for the Rand Corp. in Santa Monica, Calif., was asked about the memo. He said it was a "true account" of his feelings after the secret briefing, but declined to comment further. "I protested when they said that memo was going to be made public," he said.

A task force of safeguards experts was later assigned to look into Conran's complaint that the NRC staff who were assigned to improve existing safeguards could not get complete information on prior safeguards problems.

THE TASK FORCE'S report, written in April, stated that the information on Apollo did "contain a category which is sensitive. The task force has been told that it is sensitive for reasons which do not relate to whether or not a diversion occurred."

Last month, after Conran continued his internal campaign to get the Apollo information, he was transferred to another branch of the NRC, one which does not deal with safeguards matters.

Conran has been called to testify next week before a subcommittee of the House Interior Committee headed by the committee's chairman, Rep. Morris K. Udall, D-Ariz. Udall, according to an aide, has written Zbigniew Brzezinski, the President's assistant for national security affairs, asking for a full briefing on the Apollo matter before the hearing.

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Approved For Release 2002/06/24 : CIA-RDP90-01137R000100040001-4

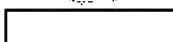
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Approved For Release 2002/06/24 : CIA-RDP90-01137R000100040001-4



Central Int.
Washington, D.C.
(703) 482-7676



Director, Public Affairs

25X1A

28 July 1986

Martin Miller
8808 Sundale Drive
Silver Spring, MD 20910

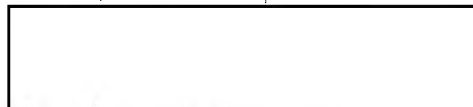
Dear Mr. Miller:

I am enclosing a copy of the Jordan map recently published by the Agency. It will soon be available to the public through the Government Printing Office. It contains the corrections you drew to the attention of the State Department and the Agency.

You probably have noted that the 1986 edition of THE WORLD FACTBOOK, published last month, also reflects the wording according to the State Department's revised guidelines.

Again we thank you for your interest in ensuring the accuracy of U.S. Government publications.

Sincerely, /



Director, Public Affairs Office

BRADFORD TREBACH
475 WEST 238TH STREET
RIVERDALE, NEW YORK 10463

4 APR 1986

March 27th, 1986

25X1A [redacted]
Director, Public Affairs
Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C.

25X1A Dear [redacted]

This letter is in reference to your correspondence of October 17th, 1985.

Please note that I have pursued the matter mentioned in your letter by writing to the State Department's Office of China Affairs. Enclosed please find copies of my letter to the State Department and the response from the Taiwan Coordination Advisor.

I hope this information will prove useful in helping the CIA to make the appropriate changes in the incorrect designation of "Taiwan" as the official name of the Republic of China on Taiwan.

Yours sincerely,



Bradford Trebach

BT/rnp
Enclosures: 3



Central Intelligence Agency
Washington, D.C.
(703) 351-7676

Director, Public Affairs

17 October 1985

Mr. Bradford Trebach
475 West 238th Street
Riverdale, NY 10463

Dear Mr. Trebach:

Thank you for your letter of 23 September in which you note the "incorrect" designation of "Taiwan" as the official name of the government of China on Taiwan in the 1984 WORLD FACTBOOK. The CIA follows guidance from the Department the State in designating the official name of a government. If you wish to pursue the matter further, I suggest you contact the State Department at the following address:

Department of State
2201 C Street N.W.
Washington D.C. 20520

Sincerely



Mr. Bradford Trebach
475 West 238th Street
Riverdale, New York 10463

BRADFORD TREBACH
475 WEST 238TH STREET
RIVERDALE, NEW YORK 10463

November 3, 1985

Mr. Chiristopher J. Szymanski
Acting Director, Office of China Affairs
United States Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

STATINTL Dear Mr. Szymanski:

I am writing to you with regard to the enclosed letter from
[redacted] Director of Public Affairs for the CIA.

The entry at Taiwan on page 258 of the CIA's 1984 World Factbook incorrectly states that the official name of the Nationalist Chinese Government on Taiwan is "Taiwan." Mr. Lauder informs me that the CIA "follows the guidance of the Department of State in designating the official name of a government." If this is indeed the case, the Department of State is doing both the CIA and the public a disservice.

The official name of the Nationalist Chinese Government on Taiwan is the Republic of China. The actual authority of the Government of the Republic of China has been limited to the province of Taiwan, Penghu (the Pescadores), and certain offshore islands of Fujian province, including Quemoy and Matsu. Since 1949, the Nationalist Government on Taiwan has continued to claim jurisdiction over the China mainland, whereas the People's Republic on the mainland has claimed jurisdiction over Taiwan; both governments are in agreement that Taiwan is part of China.

As you know, the United States Government severed relations of a diplomatic nature with the Government of the Republic of China on December 31, 1978. The fact that the United States no longer recognizes the Nationalist Government on Taiwan is irrelevant to the official name of the government empowered on that island. Regardless of U.S. policy, the official name of the Chinese Government seated at Taipei is the Republic of China. Currently, there exists no national government in the world whose official name is "Taiwan."

If the designations in the CIA's World Factbook Series must conform to the current policy of the United States with regard to the Republic of China, may I suggest that the correct official name of this government be placed in quotation marks. In this way, the designation would conform to the correct Nationalist Chinese phraseology without implying official U.S. recognition.

Sincerely,


Bradford Trebach



Approved For Release 2002/06/24 : CIA-RDP90-01137R000100040001-4
United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

December 3, 1985

Mr. Bradford Trebach
475 West 238th Street
Riverdale, New York

Dear Mr. Trebach:

I am replying to your letter of November 3 to Mr. Christopher Szymanski in which you inquired into the name used for Taiwan in the CIA's World Factbook.

As you note in your letter, on January 1, 1979 the United States recognized the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China and simultaneously withdrew recognition of the authorities on Taiwan. Consistent with that undertaking, the United States government no longer uses the term "Republic of China," a term which the Taiwan authorities use to symbolize their claim to be the sole legal government of China. U.S. government publications use a variety of other terms to refer to Taiwan, the most common of which is simply "Taiwan."

We will recommend to the CIA that they make appropriate changes in their World Factbook section dealing with Taiwan in order to eliminate any confusion in this regard. We appreciate your interest in bringing this matter to our attention.

Sincerely,

Mark S. Pratt
Taiwan Coordination Advisor
Taiwan Coordination Staff

ROUTING SHEET - PAO

Date 4 APR 1964

<u>INFO</u>	<u>ACTION</u>	<u>SEEN</u>
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Russell

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INSTRUCTIONS/COMMENTS:

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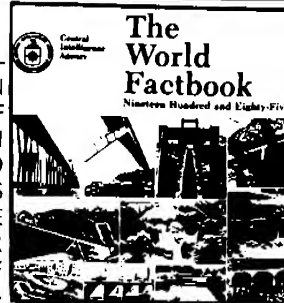
Approved For Release 2002/06/24 : CIA-RDP90-01137R000100040001-4
INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL INVESTIGATOR
October*November*December 1985



INTELLIGENCE NEWS

CIA—THE WORLD FACTBOOK

WITH 271 PAGES OF FACTS PLUS MAPS OF THE WORLD, THE CIA HAS PRODUCED "THE WORLD FACTBOOK" THAT HAS DESIREABLE INFORMATION FOR INVESTIGATORS WORLD-WIDE. IT IS AVAILABLE FROM THE SUPT. OF DOCUMENTS, U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON D.C. 20402, STOCK NO. 041 015 00159-2. THE BOOK IS PRODUCED AND UPDATED ANNUALLY BY THE CIA. NATION BY NATION IT LISTS ITEMS SUCH AS LAND, POPULATION AND GROWTH, ETHNIC DIVISIONS, THE MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS, LANGUAGE SPOKEN, LITERACY, LABOR FORCE AND HOW THEY ARE EMPLOYED, LABOR UNIONS, TYPE OF GOVERNMENT, VOTING RIGHTS, POLITICAL PARTIES, AGRICULTURE, ELECTRICAL POWER, IMPORTS, TRADE PARTNERS, BUDGET, FISCAL AFFAIRS, COMMUNICATIONS, HIGHWAYS, PORTS, AIRPORTS, DEFENSE FORCES; AS WELL AS A MAP OF THE COUNTRY. IT IS HIGHLY RECOMMENDED FOR REFERENCE PURPOSES. COPIES CAN BE PURCHASED AS NOTED ABOVE.



6 November 1984

A victory for mapmaking

By Martin H. Miller

THE Central Intelligence Agency has stopped depicting the so-called "West Bank" as an integral part of the Kingdom of Jordan. For the first time since Jordan was evicted from the area in the war of 1976, this area, which has long been the focus of American foreign policy, is not presented in a CIA map and text as Jordan's in perpetuity.

It took almost three years of effort — articles in newspapers, many letters and phone calls and visits, and extensive help from my congressman, Rep. Michael D. Barnes (D) of Maryland — to bring this about.

The accurate map of Jordan and accompanying text are in the new edition of the CIA's annual "World Factbook," which can be bought at government bookstores or ordered from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The "West Bank" consists of only 2,200 square miles of land. But few areas of the world — and none so tiny — have received as much attention from presidents of the United States, our secretaries of state, national-security advisers, or directors of the CIA.

All that the agency responsible for evaluating "intelligence relating to the national security" did in depicting the area in question was to violate United States legal policy and the facts. The CIA did this at the direction of the State Department, which calls the shots for government mapmakers.

In small State Department and CIA maps, the area on the west side of the Jordan River was simply shown as Jordan. On larger maps, the area was shown by markings, color, and nomenclature as part of Jordan "occupied" by Israel.

The consequence has been that a person looking at a map of the "West Bank" has asked himself, "What business does Israel have here? This is part of Jordan." Israel is labeled a transgressor and, consciously or not, government policymakers have been influenced in their attitude toward Israeli actions in the area.

Against such a background measures, like President Reagan's ill-fated Sept. 1, 1982, "Middle East Initiative" make sense. This called for a confederation between the "West Bank" and Jordan. The President termed the plan "the greatest foreign policy accomplishment of my administration." It was rejected by all of the proposed participants.

My campaign to make the State Department of the United States and the Central Intelligence Agency "honest" began with a letter dated Nov. 4, 1981, to Alexander Haig, then secretary of state. I asked, "Should the so-

called 'West Bank' be shown as part of Jordan in maps issued by the Department of State," and observed that "Not even the members of the Arab League recognized Jordan's sovereignty over this area."

The reply came six weeks later in a letter from Lewis M. Alexander, director of the State Department's Office of the Geographer. He conceded that only Great Britain and Pakistan had ever acknowledged Jordan's sovereignty over the area. In short, the US did not endorse Jordan's 1948 military occupation of the area. Nevertheless, even after Jordan was expelled from there in 1967, the State Department and the CIA continued to show it as Jordan's.

In 1974 at the Rabat Conference of the Arab League,

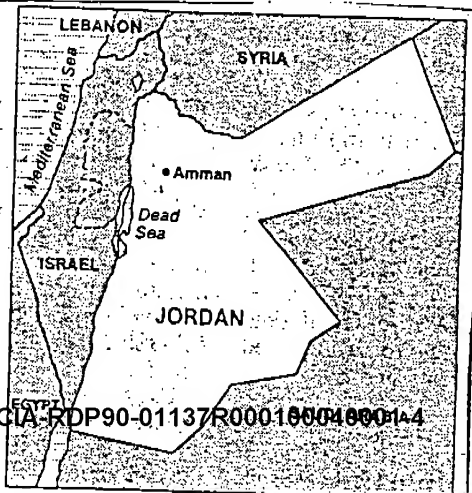
Jordan's King Hussein relinquished Jordanian claims to the area. The State Department and the CIA continued to show it as Jordan's.

Nongovernment publishers and the media followed suit. For the public, for journalists, for students, and for present and future presidents and secretaries of state — for an entire generation of Americans — the "truth" from our trusted sources from every side has been that the "West Bank" is an integral part of Jordan.

This has influenced our perceptions of "right and wrong" in judging the area and what the US should do about it.

The work to get the State Department to cease the dissemination of erroneous and misleading data about Jordan and the "West Bank" has brought results, although much remains to be done. The CIA and 10 other mapmaking agencies were told in a State Department directive dated Sept. 30, 1982, to make specified changes in their new maps of the Middle East. This was the first breakthrough. The accurate map and text in the CIA 1984 fact book came next.

Martin H. Miller is a free-lance writer.



HOW TO OVERCOME BUREAUCRATIC INERTIA
BY JIM ANDERSON
WASHINGTON

The State Department has been compared to a large, stranded jellyfish, or a fudge factory. But maybe, in light of Marty Miller's experience, a glacier would be a better simile -- moving, but so painfully slow that it's imperceptible.

Miller, a retired U.S. Treasury Department official who lives in Silver Spring, Md., a Washington suburb, is distinguished by several personality traits: He is amazingly persistent, he has a highly developed sense of outrage about what he feels is governmental malfeasance, and he is a strong supporter of Israel.

All three of these factors came into play when Miller, in 1981, came across a publication called "The World Factbook," which is a country-by-country listing of the vital statistics and maps of the world published by the CIA under the guidance of the State Department.

Miller's sense of outrage was excited when he saw that the West Bank, militarily occupied by Israel since 1967, was shown in the Factbook map and text to belong to Jordan. Jordan had been custodian of the area as a result of the 1948 partition agreement, lost custody of it to Israel in 1967, and then renounced any claim to the territory when it agreed with other Arab nations in 1974 that the Palestine Liberation Organization was the legitimate spokesman for the Palestinian Arabs in the West Bank.

None of this was reflected in the CIA book and when Miller asked about it; he was told the CIA was simply following State Department instructions. Then followed two years of correspondence between Miller and the State Department's office of the geographer, which draws the lines on the maps.

Finally, the geographer's office agreed that Miller was right and, in the 1983 edition of the Factbook, they said they would put it right by representing the West Bank in a kind of fuzzy gray, with a note that it was militarily occupied by Israel, but that Israel's possession is not recognized as permanent by the United States.

Miller was exultant -- until he got the 1983 edition. The map was right, but the text accompanying it was wrong. It still gave the 5,439 square kilometers of the West Bank to Jordan.

It was pointed out to the State Department, by Miller's congressmen, among other people, but the bureaucrats went into their armadillo curl -- rolling up into a tight, little ball, saying nothing. One State Department geographer quit, and was placed by another and the whole sequence had to be explained at great length to the new man.

Miller, who knew Secretary of State George Shultz when both were at the Treasury, decided on a frontal attack. At a slack time of the year, he asked for an appointment to see Shultz, who remembered him as a live-wire salesman of U.S. Defense Bonds at the Treasury

Continued

A cartographic corrective

By Martin H. Miller

The Central Intelligence Agency, which "correlates and evaluates intelligence relating to the national security," is presenting accurately in maps and text an area of the Middle East that has long been vital to American foreign policy. It only took almost three years of effort—articles in a number of newspapers, extensive assistance from my congressman, Rep. Michael D. Barnes of Maryland, many letters and phone calls and visits—to bring this about.

The area in question is the Kingdom of Jordan and the adjoining 2,200 square miles on the west bank of the Jordan River. In concert with Israel, there are few areas of the world—and none so tiny—that have received as much attention from U.S. presidents, secretaries of state, national security advisers and CIA directors.

All that the CIA had done was violate United States legal policy and the actual facts. It did so at the direction of the State Department, which calls the shots for government mapmakers.

In small State Department and CIA maps, the 2,200 square miles on the west bank of the Jordan were simply shown as Jordan. On larger maps, the area was shown by markings, color and nomenclature as part of Jordan "occupied" by Israel.

Nongovernment publishers followed the government example, so from encyclopedias, atlases, most almanacs, textbooks, newspapers, magazines and television, since 1967 we've gotten the same erroneous and misleading information. The result has been that for many Americans, Israeli actions in the "West Bank" are somehow improper, immoral and probably illegal.

The first breakthrough in the effort to make the State Department "honest" came when Lewis M. Alexander, director of the State Department's Office of the Geographer, issued a directive to the CIA and 10 other government mapmaking agencies dated Sept. 30, 1982. They were told that, "to ensure that all United States government maps of the West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights clearly and consistently reflect the United States' legal position . . . maps should not designate or depict [the West Bank and Gaza Strip] as sovereign territory of any Middle Eastern country."

In a letter to me dated Dec. 17, 1981, geographer Alexander had conceded that only Great Britain and Pakistan ever acknowledged Jordan's superiority over the so-called "West Bank." In short, the United States did not endorse Jordan's 1948 hostile military occupation of the area, counter to the United Nations' 1947 plan for the partition of Palestine. Nevertheless, even after Israel evicted Jordan from the area in the war of 1967, the State Department and CIA continued to show the area as Jordan's.

And when the State Department issued its directive, there was not the slightest hint that it represented a change from 15 years of inaccurate information. Moreover, its Bureau of Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs refused to permit any word to alert the CIA that the text of its annual "World Factbook" might be wrong. The result was that the 1983 factbook came out with the CIA's first accurate map of Jordan but the same old misleading text.

More protests—letters, calls, questioning of the State Department's spokesman at the daily press briefing—finally brought the word on Aug. 30, 1983:

"We have been consulting with the CIA. In the next edition of the 'World Factbook,' the West Bank and Gaza Strip will have a separate listing. . . . The sections on Jordan and Israel will, naturally, be revised accordingly."

This time the change was made. The CIA's 1984 "World Factbook" presents Jordan as a separate country. Its area, land, boundaries, districts are those of Jordan alone.

The State Department has not gone overboard to replace flawed maps and texts. The full-size map of Jordan—the one I suspect is shown President Reagan and Secretary of State George Shultz—was produced by the CIA in 1972. This is the map given the media. It is the map you pay \$3.50 for at government bookstores. It shows the land on both sides of the Jordan River as Jordan's and even uses the Jordanian names for the districts Jordan set up.

The State Department promises a new edition of its biannual publication, "Background Notes Jordan." It is only 14 months overdue. The issue currently available features an erroneous map on its cover and misleading text inside.

Maybe what we should worry about is, if the professionals in government give our nation's leaders such information on a simple, clear-cut case like that of Jordan and the West Bank, what are they feeding them on situations that may be more complex and more critical for American security?

Martin H. Miller is a free-lance writer who lives in Silver Spring, Md.

WASHINGTON

SPECTER OF HOSTAGES HAUNTED REAGAN
BY JIM ANDERSON

The specter that haunted President Reagan as he gave the order for the invasion of Grenada was the possibility that hundreds of Americans would be taken hostage on his watch.

As a man who came to power in the emotional rush of the release of the remaining 52 American hostages in Iran, Reagan, according to Secretary of State George Shultz, was worried most of all about the safety of the Americans in the island nation.

As head of an administration that was not able to point to any foreign policy triumphs and was shocked by the loss of more than 200 American Marines in a poorly defined peace-keeping situation in Lebanon, the president wanted no further disasters.

As Shultz put it at a State Department news conference:

"Should he (the president) act to prevent Americans from being hurt or taken hostage? I think that if he waited and they were taken hostage, or many were killed, then you would be asking ... why didn't you (the president) take some action to protect American citizens there?"

The other arguments for what the president did are less forceful.

One was that the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States had prevailed on the United States to act and that the organization's consensus took precedence over the much better known Organization of American States, which is meeting today to discuss the invasion.

Put as it was by Shultz, the organization sounded like a real power to be contended with in the hemisphere.

But, the United States is not a member of the OECS (although it is a member of the OAS), a search of State Department briefings reveals no mention of OECS and the grouping of Caribbean islands is so obscure that the Central Intelligence Agency, in its annual "World Factbook," did not even list it in the affiliations of such mini-states as Grenada or Barbados.

In a White House briefing, assistant secretary of state Langhorne Motley said that the legal authority in Grenada should run from the governor general, who had represented British sovereignty since Grenada's independence in 1976, to the starting point of the new electoral process.

The governor general, in former colonies such as Grenada, is a ceremonial post, a symbol of authority deliberately deprived of power by the electoral process.

It is not the sort of thing that countries use as the basis for risking their soldiers' lives.

CONTINUED

ASSOCIATED PRESS

25 October 1983

WASHINGTON
GRENADA-LEGAL
BY PATRICIA KOZA

Secretary of State George Shultz invoked a little-known agreement among several Caribbean nations Wednesday to justify the invasion of Grenada but critics questioned the legal basis for the decision.

"Clearly, there are some serious international legal questions," said Rep. Michael Barnes, D-Md., head of the House Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Western Hemisphere affairs, the main House oversight panel on Latin American and Caribbean matters.

In explaining the action to reporters, Shultz invoked Article 8 the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States charter, which sets up a defense and security committee for the collective defense of the participating nations.

His comments implied that it is an important organization and that the desires of its members can take precedence over the more prominent Organization of American States and the OAS' Rio Treaty, which prohibits any state from intervening militarily or otherwise in the internal affairs of another OAS country.

Grenada is a member of the OAS, as is the United States. Some of the Caribbean nations involved in the invasion are members of the OAS, some are not, but none has signed the Rio Treaty. Shultz noted they have their own collective security treaty under which the invasion is authorized.

A congressional source familiar with Latin American and Caribbean affairs, however, criticized Shultz's effort to invoke the little-known agreement, to which the United States is not a signatory.

"We're not a signatory of the (Caribbean) charter, but we are a signatory and one of main authors of the OAS charter, of which we are clearly in violation," the source said.

The Organization of Eastern Caribbean States is practically unknown and is not listed in the CIA's annual 'World Factbook' as one of the organizations to which Grenada or any other Caribbean nation belongs.

Signatories to the Caribbean charter are Antigua, Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Lucia, St. Kitts Nevis and St. Vincent.

The Caribbean agreement also apparently requires that any action get unanimous consent of the signatories, which obviously did not happen in Grenada's case, Barnes said.

Another portion of the Caribbean document, Article 14, calls for the peaceful settlement of disputes among member states and provides for different mechanisms to attain that end.

CONTINUED

WASHINGTON POST
8 September 1983

MIKE CAUSEY

THE FEDERAL DIARY

What the CIA Knows: What is the literacy rate in Uganda? What is the capital of the Faroe Islands? How many submarines in the Polish navy? If you have ever asked yourself these questions, the answers are in the brand new (\$10 in paperback) CIA World Fact Book.

The fact book is available in most government bookstores. Government Printing Office officials say it is a popular back-to-school item in the Washington area, and an interesting thing to leave lying around on your coffee table wherever you live.

P.S. The answers to the above questions are 25 percent, Torshavn, and 4.

If you have different answers, take it up with the CIA.

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